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EDITORIAL

The present issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is devoted to problems of research—social, psychological, and educational. The various branches of social science have grown so rapidly in recent years that each branch has tended to become institutionalized and to develop its own methods of approach. Without attempting the difficult task of synthesis or integration, this issue brings together a number of approaches to the evaluation of social data.

The attempt at appraisal of research sponsored by the Social Science Research Council is summarized by Bain, while Ascher describes another effort of the Council—the formulation of hypotheses in the field of political science. Wrightstone describes new techniques of educational appraisal and Watson presents a series of observations on the psychology of social change, its origin, sequence, and direction. Aldrich discusses the utilization of social data in the secondary-school curriculum, and Lorge outlines a community survey to be conducted by the classroom teacher. The problems presented by questionnaires and schedules—perhaps too frequently used in social research—are discussed by Young, and Maller presents a brief digest of a statistical study of the metropolitan community.

It is hoped that such discussions of research methods will contribute to greater solidarity among the social sciences and increase their social usefulness.

J. B. MALLER

APPRAISAL OF RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

READ BAIN

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Research in the social sciences has been considered by our colleagues in the physical and biological sciences as a kind of academic busywork. Their general attitude is that whatever "social science" may be, it is not science, or at least it is not "natural" science. It is preachment, opinion, or normative exhortation and its devotees are not quite respectable members of the great fraternity of scientific scholars.

Social scientists have continued to work at their task, generally with an inferiority feeling which sometimes expresses itself in defensive—and offensive—protestations of the "scientific" nature of their work. Many social scientists, particularly the younger ones, have a more accurate and extensive knowledge of the philosophy, logic, and methodology of science than many first-rate researchers in the physical and biological sciences. Many of the latter are masters of routine and technique but are woefully inarticulate regarding the theoretical and philosophical implications of their work. It should be pointed out that leading physical and biological scientists are frequently generous in their appreciation of the work social scientists are doing and have made many fruitful suggestions by which social scientists have profited. One could mention biologists like T. H. Morgan, H. S. Jennings, W. M. Wheeler, and R. W. Gerard, physicists like P. W. Bridgman, and chemists like L. J. Henderson. It should also be pointed out that many sociologists still support the position that sociology is essentially a normative discipline that never can be "like the natural sciences" in its general methodology, nor in the accuracy and predictive power of its generalizations; that it must proceed from and by a different theoretical point of view.

Increasingly, however, social scientists in general and economists and sociologists in particular are taking the position, and developing research techniques to validate it, that the social sciences are natural sciences and must use the same general theoretical and methodological procedures that have proved so successful in physics and biology.¹ Social scientists in all fields have been very critical, on the whole, both of their procedures and of their results. Men in other fields also have not spared forthright criticism of research in the social sciences.

The Social Science Research Council is sponsoring a program of evaluation of research in the seven disciplines represented within the Council: anthropology, economics, history, political science, social psychology, sociology, and statistics. The remainder of this report will present a summary of that attempt at appraisal.

Some twenty specialists in each of the seven fields were asked to name the three or four research works produced in America since the World War which had made the most significant contributions to their respective fields. The committee was very careful not to state any criteria of significance. It simply wanted to get a list of works which qualified experts in the several fields thought to have high

¹ Sociologists, perhaps because they are the "youngest" social scientists, have been particularly interested in the logic of science. They are perhaps the most insistent of all social scientists that their discipline is a "natural" science. They have been severe critics of the research methods in their own and allied fields and have produced a considerable literature dealing with this subject. I cite only a few titles here, but they contain many further pertinent references. George A. Lundberg, *Social Research* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929); Stuart A. Rice, editor, *Methods in Social Science: A Case Book* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931); George A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939); Stuart C. Dodd, *Dimensions of Society* (forthcoming); L. L. Bernard, editor, *Fields and Methods of Sociology* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934). One should also mention the articles by L. L. Bernard, "Scientific Method and Social Progress," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXI, 1 (July 1925), 1-18; F. Stuart Chapin, "Design for Social Experiments," *American Sociological Review*, III, 6 (December 1938), 786-800; Clark L. Hull, "Conflicting Psychologies of Learning—A Way Out," *Psychological Review*, XLII, 6 (November 1935), 491-516; George A. Lundberg, "Thoughtways of Contemporary Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, I, 5 (October 1936), 703-723; Raymond V. Bowers, "Conceptual Integration and Social Research," *American Sociological Review*, III, 3 (June 1938), 307-319; Stuart C. Dodd, "A Tension Theory of Societal Action," *American Sociological Review*, IV, 1 (February 1939), 56-77.

value. From this list, still without any stated criteria of significance, a panel of specialists in each field was asked to name the three outstanding works. The committee then studied the results of these polls and finally selected one monograph from each of five fields for more intensive analysis. The works chosen were: W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, for sociology; F. C. Mills, *The Behavior of Prices*, for economics (the work by A. A. Berle and Gardiner Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, was seriously considered but Mills's work was finally chosen for the reason stated below); W. P. Webb, *The Great Plains: A Study in Institutions and Environment*, for history; John Dickinson, *Administrative Justice*, etc., for political science; and Franz Boas, *Primitive Art*, for cultural anthropology. The social psychologists have not yet reached any consensus upon a book to be appraised. No book was chosen specifically for statistics, since it was regarded primarily as a method, but *The Behavior of Prices* was thought to be sufficiently statistical so that the role of statistics in social research would be appraised in the critique of Mills's work. The committee has not decided whether it will attempt a separate appraisal of statistics in relation to social research.

Reports have been issued on three of the works named above.^a Some work has been done on the other two, but it is not known at present whether the same procedure as in the first three reports will be followed. The committee is feeling its way, and if the reports already issued are found to be of little value, the whole project may be abandoned or a new method of appraisal undertaken. Before it proceeds further, at least on its present task, the committee probably

^a These are Social Science Research Council Bulletins 44, 45, and 46, under the general title *Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences I, II, III* I, issued in September 1939, 210 pages, bears the subtitle "An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, by Herbert Blumer"; II, issued in March 1940, 335 pages, "An Appraisal of Frederick C. Mills' *The Behavior of Prices* by Raymond T. Bye"; III, May 1940, 254 pages, "An Appraisal of Walter Prescott Webb's *The Great Plains: A Study in Institutions and Environment* by Fred A. Shannon." These bulletins may be obtained from the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York.

would like to see whether the specialists in the three fields covered think the reports thus far issued warrant a similar job being done for the other disciplines. Doubtless some report on the appraisal of research in the other three fields will be issued, but some approach other than the one used in the first three reports may be utilized.

Briefly, this is the procedure followed in the preparation of the first three reports. After the book was chosen, a competent man in the field was employed to make a critical appraisal of the work. He was guided by such general considerations as: What was the purpose of the author? How successful has he been in achieving it? Were the data and methods adequate and properly used? To what extent can they be used in other similar studies? Has the work stimulated further research in its own or in allied fields? What generalizations were reached? Do they appear to issue soundly from the data and methods? If there are recommendations for social action, do they appear to be based soundly on the data? What are the distinctive contributions of the work?

The appraisal was then submitted to the author, who was invited to make any statement he desired. These two documents, together with two or three of the leading reviews, were then submitted to ten or twelve scholars for critical reading. These men were chosen both from the field represented by the book and from allied fields so that cross-fertilization of ideas and interdisciplinary criticism would be stimulated. They understood that they would come together later for a conference on the general questions raised by the documents.

When the conference met, everything said was taken down by an expert stenotypist and a transcript was prepared for editorial revision. The three reports were edited by Read Bain who condensed the transcript to about half its original size—preserving the continuity of the discussion and the accuracy of the ideas presented—wrote a commentary, prepared an index, and saw the report through the press. The entire reports are well worth reading, and the members of the committee, or Robert Redfield, its present chairman,

would be glad to receive criticisms of the project as thus far carried out, and also suggestions for better methods of continuing the investigation.

The conferences were all interdisciplinary in personnel. This is one of the major values of the reports, all of which reflect the common interests and problems of all the social sciences. Therefore, in teaching, in research, and in graduate training, the interdisciplinary unity and solidarity of all the social sciences will be heightened—a goal much to be desired and of great scientific value to all the social sciences. It is probable that the entire work of the committee would be rounded out and made most useful, if, after its specific reports are completed, some competent scholar with a flair for comprehensive analysis were to summarize, contrast, compare, analyze, synthesize, and criticize the six reports in a final volume of the series. Such a report might become a valuable introduction to research in the social sciences and might also have value as an interpretation of the methods and objectives of the social sciences which could be read by physical and biological scientists and intelligent laymen. If the findings of social science are ever to receive the consideration now accorded to the results obtained by the physical and biological sciences, two things are necessary: (1) they must be valid scientific conclusions; (2) the public must be convinced that this is the case and demand that business men, social workers, teachers, publicists, legislators, administrators, and judges take account of them in the performance of their duties. Such a final volume, properly done, might contribute to this objective.

At least one common element is found in all three reports. This is the apparent conflict between insight and proof or deductive-a priori versus inductive-empirical methodology. This perhaps is a logical counterpart of the conflict between the quantitative and non-quantitative sociologists which has been going on in varied forms during recent years: case study, Gestalt, interpretative insight, typology, *Wissenssociologie*, historical studies, descriptive natural histo-

ries, etc., on the one hand, and scale-making, ecological analysis, population studies, detailed surveys, and intensive quantitative studies on the other—all of the latter using statistical methods of arranging data in time series so as to show predictive uniformity in the data. One school is concerned with large constellations of data meaningfully apprehended and comprehended, the other with carefully delimited theorems that can be established or refuted by empirical methods. Both groups regard sociology as a natural science, nonnormative and nonutilitarian.

Besides these two schools, there are still some of the "old school" sociologists who regard sociology as a "social" not a "natural" science, and emphasize its normative, "practical," teleological-meliorative aspects. For them, its primary reason for existence is to "do good in general." These three general attitudes are more or less clearly distinguishable in all of the social sciences.

Needless to say, it is the latter, the doctrinaire type of social science, that makes social scientists especially suspect by all who have a vested interest in the *status quo* but lack the scientific habit of mind. It is only when the social scientist begins to advocate changes that run counter to the vested interests that he gets into trouble. Scientists become martyrs only when they become confused about their citizen-scientist functions or when they attempt to fuse them. If they would escape "trouble," they must be content to see their findings neglected, misinterpreted, and misused by charlatans and propagandists as the history of science amply proves. However, in the long perspective of history, at least some of the findings of science finally come to be used so as to promote human welfare. The fundamental function of science has always been and still is to find knowledge in the faith that at long last mankind will use it to make life more secure and fruitful for all the inhabitants of the earth. In the absence of such a faith, science is futile.

Another general conclusion to be drawn from these critiques of research is that while opinions differ on specific matters of method-

ology and interpretations, there is considerable consensus on general points of view, research objectives, and methodological procedures. Many apparent differences are terminological quibbles. The social sciences are beginning to come of age, to present a united front, and to constitute a specialized field of scientific knowledge which is about ready for the kind of systematic and theoretical organization which characterizes the physical and biological sciences—a central core of verified knowledge upon which the various specialists can agree in a general way and in accordance with which they can pursue specific researches that extend the boundaries of knowledge. They all speak each other's language and recognize their theoretical and empirical similarity. The Social Science Research Council as a coördinating body has doubtless played an important part in this growing consensus during the last seventeen years, but the inevitable cross-fertilization of techniques, findings, and interpretations has gone on in the social sciences as in the physical and biological. The Council has been an expression rather than a sole cause of this trend.

All natural sciences are one and this is especially true of the third member of the three great general divisions of natural sciences: viz., the social or cultural sciences. Doubtless in the relatively near future the social sciences will become as respectably "scientific" as are the other two great classes of natural science. This will come about by the continued development of empirical research and its theoretical interpretation and systematization by men who do not question the basic assumption that social phenomena are natural phenomena. Valid generalization of such data constitutes a natural science. This is a simple statement, but its implications are profound and far-reaching. It is a revolutionary way of looking at human behavior.

SOME HYPOTHESES CONCERNING SOCIAL CHANGE

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American research in education, sociology, and psychology is often criticized for its excessively blind empiricism. The writer was commissioned to lead in the preparation of a volume on psychology of social change and in that connection he sought to relate current investigations to the larger problems as seen by those who might be called philosophers of social change. The disparity was impressive. There were extensive collections of fact, but few of the facts shed any light on the most fundamental, persistent, and crucial problems of social theory.

The following hypotheses are presented as a first step toward improving research in this important area. Most of these hypotheses will doubtless prove in need of extensive qualification. They are offered as starting points for research, not as findings.

I. ORIGINS

1. Each social system gives rise to attitudes and habits that tend to sustain and perpetuate that system.

2. People whose behaviors and emotions have been canalized within certain institutions identify themselves with those institutions and defend the social arrangements as they would defend their own personalities.

3. Further security is commonly attained in a culture by the projection of its customs onto some absolute, infinite, or superhuman scale; they regard their institutions as the perfect expression of unalterable human nature, or of the inevitable course of history, or of the inscrutable will of God. Change thus seems impossible, and proposals for change appear foolish, immoral, or blasphemous.

4. Changes do occur in spite of social inertia. Among the more common stimulators of social change are:

a) changes in climate, exhaustion of old resources, discovery of new resources, natural catastrophes

- b) contact, in peace or war, with different cultures; diffusion, acculturation
- c) technological advance; mechanical inventions
- d) the continuous conflict, as children grow up, between their innate and acquired impulses and the particular forms of the culture
- e) influence of powerful individuals and groups whose individual differences in ideas or behavior come to dominate the culture; Luther, Wesley, Mohammed, Columbus
- f) ideological impacts: Copernicus, Darwin, Freud

5. A culture is an interrelated, organic whole, so interdependent that changes in one part modify the functioning of the others. The failure of other aspects of the culture to adapt to new inventions produces "social lag."

6 When established patterns fail to bring expected results, inquiry, thought, criticism, and experiment begin. Thinking arises from, and reacts upon, maladjustments between habitual responses and the environment.

7 A crisis develops when thought, adjustment, and compromise fail to resolve the conflicts between traditional allegiances and the demands of new conditions.

8 Revolutionary transformations are made necessary when the attempts at adjustment, made within the old framework of basic assumptions and powers, serve to aggravate rather than to reduce the tension and imbalance. Both natural and historical evolution show periods of emergence of new Gestalten which are not built up through slow, step-by-step modification of the previous patterns.

II. SEQUENCE

9. Periods of great social change show a tendency to the following sequence

- a) discontent of intellectuals with old arrangements; growth of criticism; Utopianism
- b) organization of protest movements around rebel personalities
- c) efforts to stabilize the old order by reaction, repression, rigidity, increasing harshness
- d) gradual increase in awareness of failure of old system; public disillusioned with old but without clear concept of the new

- e) frustration of potentialities; unused resources; inability of ablest youths to rise
- f) protest movements better organized; effective publicity; more rapid expansion
- g) desertion of some of the privileged group from the old order to protest groups
- h) clashes—with or without violence—between old and new; education of public by controversies
- i) reforms attempted by the old rulers, but too limited and too late to succeed
- j) division of public opinion into two sharply divided camps; middle crowd loses numbers and influence
- k) growth of myths; projection of ideals onto own cause and of repressed vicious impulses onto the enemy
- l) nominal success of the new
- m) reaction against the new—due in part to its own blunders, its limited awareness of some social consequences, and in part to desperate effort by partisans of the old order
- n) with the crushing of reaction, an enormous release of energy and enthusiasm for the promise of the new order
- o) period of cutting down expectations; checking movements to carry the change beyond the present; general stabilization at new level
- p) the new order must abandon promises and be tested by its achievements; not so bad as its opponents feared but a disappointment to enthusiasts
- q) the new order becomes traditional and rigid and the process starts again on a different level

III. DIRECTION

10. Social change, which arises from thwarting of universal desires, tends to move in the direction of greater human satisfaction

11. Social change, in a world of competing classes and nations, tends to increase mechanical power. Each group, to gain its ends, must arm itself with weapons to equal or exceed those possessed by the other side. Machine-power cultures overrun manpower and animal-power cultures.

12. Whenever a social invention adds to power to defend a culture or to conquer others, that pattern—like mechanical inventions—must be

adopted or improved upon by competing groups. (Bagehot—The more integrated societies survive.)

13. Social changes arising from mechanical inventions and social inventions move in somewhat the same direction in all modern industrial nations; national cultures and situations modify the rate of change and the precise form of expression, but similarity is more fundamental than diversity. National interests often lead to exaggerated idea of differences.

14. The study of social change and attempts at conscious, intelligent direction represent the emergence of a relatively recent and influential factor which will make social change in the future different from that of the past. Immediate proposals, when seen as part of a more inclusive whole, take on a changed character.

15. Social change is always to some extent unexpected. When some change is intended, the results do not entirely correspond to anticipations. Unforeseen developments arise from limitations of our knowledge, unconscious motives, and unique characteristics of each situation. "Hindsight" brings an illusion of wisdom; elements of prescience seem, in the light of the outcome, to have emerged more clearly and sharply than they actually did at the time. There may be "good" accidents as well as injurious ones.

16. The direction of change in other social institutions is much influenced by the pattern of early family life. Those who have experienced domination, competition, and hostility will be more receptive to conflict and dictatorship; those who have experienced family affection, democracy, and cooperation will be disposed toward mutual aid, peaceful cooperation, and extension of democracy in industry and government.

IV. LEADERSHIP

17. The distribution of opinion and practice on issues pertaining to the existing social order is a J-curve, with a small minority of dissenters.

18. The leaders in early stages of a movement of social change are found in the dissenting minority. Among the selective factors are:

- a) rebellion against family and other authority
- b) lack of social acceptance in approved groups
- c) contact with persons and writings representing another viewpoint; sometimes personal admiration and affection
- d) factors in personal experience, sensitizing the person to sufferings which others tolerate more complacently

- e) opportunity for ego enhancement in the rebel group
- f) opportunity to improve economic status by protest
- g) ability to be intellectually creative, imaginative, iconoclastic in patterns of thought. Radicals are usually rationalists, placing extra value on logical consistency

19. Both the "great man" theory of history and the "social forces" theory represent partial truths. There can be no change simply because of an able leader, but when the old equilibrium is upset the quality of leadership available has a tremendous influence upon the outcome. In the course of every great historic transformation there can be found moments when the cause hung in the balance and when the strength, wisdom, faith, and courage of some individual became a determining factor.

20. Leaders in movements which have gradually grown strong and popular tend toward the "good-fellow" politician, whose virtues are companionability and loyalty to friends. Since such men are followers of their crowd, movements they head tend to lose militancy.

21. Leaders in rebel movements gain outlet for aggressive resentment and also ego satisfaction to compensate for social rejection; it is very difficult to unite any such organizations because of the struggle for power among individuals to whom prestige and dominance are psychologically essential.

V. PROPAGANDA

22. Strongest appeals emphasize *both*:

- a) reason and feeling
- b) practicality and desirability
- c) material advantage and idealistic challenge
- d) roots in the past and progress toward the future
- e) security and change
- f) destruction of evil and construction of good
- g) common ordinary man and prestige support
- h) earnestness and humor

23. The most powerful appeal, in a movement for social change, is the "bandwagon" appeal. Nothing succeeds like popular success. A movement that grows rapidly must act quickly—delay means decline in acceleration and rapid falling away of those held mainly by the bandwagon appeal.

24. The more expensive a form of propaganda, the less likely it is to be available to advocates of social change.

25. Social change is facilitated by high ethical conviction and moral idealism.

- a) Idealism and humanitarianism alone will not suffice, but they are valuable assets.
- b) Movements with ascetic, puritanical demands succeed better than those which are regarded as lax and indulgent. In time of public anxiety the old sanctions gain strength.
- c) Various forms of misrepresentation and misuse of funds may be tolerated in officials of the *status quo*, but the slightest suspicion of practices not wholly honorable, in a movement of reform, becomes a serious weakness. Leaders seeking to improve society are expected to set superior standards.

26. Movements will be judged by reactions to *persons* who represent them more than by the logic of their principles. This is especially true in periods of anxiety when people seek a personal savior.

27. Movements seeking minor modifications within the present system can depend upon appeal to material advantage, but movements that seek to change basic power relations must be able successfully to demand sacrifices from their members.

28. Both supporters and opponents of change appeal to symbols which have traditionally been associated with strong feelings of loyalty.

- a) home, mother
- b) religious and ethical ideals
- c) patriotism
- d) home-town people (opposition to "outsiders," "foreigners")

29. The more drastic and fundamental the change which is sought, the less conventional must be the methods of appeal.

30. While a social movement is rising toward power and leadership, it loses by compromise and gains by all-or-none demands. Movements of social protest will win support more by their successes than by their concessions.

31. The more fundamental the change sought, the more emphasis must be upon winning *youth*. The psychology of age emphasizes security, stability, and encourages only minor changes. Only among youth is there

likely to be desire and courage for basic changes. The changing age distribution in the population makes for more difficulty in getting change.

32. Speeches are more influential, for or against social change, than are writings. Speakers in person are more influential than over radio. Speakers to crowds achieve more influence than would the same address if heard by a like number of separated individuals.

33. Effective propaganda for mass action must point to objects, outside themselves, which men can attack and on which they can vent revenge.

a) Expression of hatred has been less tolerated and more repressed than expressions of love and goodwill; hence the unconscious need for an enemy is greater than the unconscious need for a love object.

b) In attacking some object outside themselves, men can free themselves from self-attack, guilt, and a sense of having been personally responsible for previous frustrations.

34. A social movement first adds some myths to its "real" or "factual" appeal, but in its later, more popular stages, the myths outweigh the facts. (Sorel)

35. The psychological support that is mobilized by the myths comes from:

a) unsatisfied personal cravings and resentments: all resentment against authority centered against one target; all dreams for one's children dependent on one victory; all ego cravings may be fulfilled as the new regime opens new opportunities

b) deeper, more impersonal, more irrational, emotional patterns which appear in many cultures (Jung's "collective unconscious")

36. The outcome of a social movement sustained by myths is sure to disappoint many of the hopes of its supporters.

37. The monotony of life, the absence of psychological insight, and the superficiality of day-by-day concerns furnish, for most people, a soil in which propaganda and myths flourish.

VI. MATRIX

38. No revolutionary change is due entirely to the efforts or propaganda of revolutionists. Unless the old rulers are themselves incompetent to carry on the old institutions with fair success, they will counteract subversive influences.

39. Economic failure of established institutions under changed condi-

tions is a primary cause of social change; what Keller called "the maintenance mores" condition most other aspects of the culture.

40. In a period when a social order works successfully, the few demands for change that arise from dissatisfied individuals and groups can usually be met by modest concessions. When the old institutions become basically ineffectual, demands for change increase, while at the same time the possibility of granting concessions, and still preserving dominance, diminishes. This coincidence of increased demands with inability to satisfy even the normal expectations presages a major change.

41. Rulers will grant any other concessions before the abolition of their power.

42. Rulers, aware that new techniques or processes threaten their control, attempt to take over the new devices and to extend their traditional power by the very means that would otherwise threaten them.

43. When a ruling class is unable to carry out its will in customary ways, it attempts first to win over the opposition. Under ordinary circumstances, the provision of high posts on the side of the privileged and powerful suffices to drain off leadership from the rebels. When these tactics no longer succeed repression is introduced. More lenient measures are tried first—then harsher ones.

44. If, on an important issue, the harsher measures are abandoned or relaxed, one step has been taken toward overthrow of those rulers.

45. The rulers are habituated, by their own success, to old-time methods; they are therefore slow to recognize that what has succeeded in the past will not solve newly arising problems; their incompetence is shown in refusing to make readjustments until it is too late.

46. Some of the ablest of the ruling group desert their class and support the demands of other groups; as incompetence at the top increases, these desertions increase.

47. So long as able individuals rise to privilege and power within the existing system, they will not lead in social change; the existing social structure is imperiled most when able youths are no longer hopeful of climbing within it.

VII. INTELLECTUALS

48. Dissatisfaction with the old order arises first among intellectuals whose contacts with other cultures are more numerous, and for whom an

imaginatively conceived order is almost as real as the one in which most of their fellow men live.

49. Intellectuals do not, typically, provide effective personal active leadership in movements of social change, although their ideas may be taken over by leaders and masses.

Factors:

- a) a privileged position which would be threatened if they led effective opposition to the *status quo*
- b) desire to entertain in mind many possibilities, whereas an action program must be reduced to "Yes" or "No"
- c) desire to differentiate shades and nuances, whereas mass action involves oversimplification
- d) habit of criticism leads to defense of the attacked and to attack on the exalted, in opposition to the rising mass emotions
- e) overvalue of proper form and undervalue of vital interests; siding with excellent sophistry against crude but vital demands
- f) individualism; disagrees with everybody; unable to join wholeheartedly in group
- g) nonintellectuals distrust intellectuals and rational approaches

50 An intellectual will lead only

- a) when he can dominate
- b) when forces are mobilized for action and are restrained only by lack of an idea or discovery
- c) when he escapes the limitations of his kind¹

¹The second half of this outline of social change, including a similar number of hypotheses under the headings of Mass Participation, Labor Organizations, Reaction, and Revolution will appear in a future issue of THE JOURNAL.

HYPOTHESES REGARDING GOVERNMENT RELATIONSHIPS

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One of the responsibilities of the Social Science Research Council is the planning, programming, and stimulation of research, the bringing together of scholars from different disciplines to define significant problems for study and to propose suitable methods of inquiry. In seeking to carry out this role of the Council, its Committee on Public Administration concluded that the problems of a Federal state needed profound restudy in the light of the stresses that new developments in our economy had put upon our system of political federalism since the days of de Tocqueville and Bryce. To take the single field of education: it has been dogma that education is a function of the States, to be carried on through local officers, and supported out of local taxes, largely the property tax. For fifty years after 1867, when the United States Office of Education was established, the role of the Federal Government was seen as that of collecting statistics and of "diffusing information" on school administration and teaching methods. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 recognized a national interest in promoting one type of education.

Twenty years have seen a gradual widening of the belief that the nation owes it to its children, whether in rich or poor communities, to provide equal educational opportunity, leading to the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Federal Aid to Education, recommending substantial and increasing Federal financial support. What controls will accompany the granting of such funds—what shifts do they portend in power and duties between the central government, the States, and the localities? The purpose of this note is to report an approach in outlining an attack on a broad social

problem and to indicate how the formulation of specific hypotheses aided in the planning of research on the general problem

The first attempt at research planning was to prepare a memorandum, outlining the major facets of the problem, suggesting forces to be assessed, sectors of national life in which there had been important but not adequately observed changes bearing upon the problem, and the need for the collaboration of men of diverse training

The next step was to organize this material into a scheme for study; to select some important concepts—such as the closing of the frontier and the organization of corporate enterprise—as subjects for research; to develop an outline of approaches: historical, analytic, critical, conceptual, descriptive, prognostic.

The chairman of the Committee proposed that under each large head of study there be propounded a series of hypotheses that the research program should seek to substantiate or disprove. Some sixty-five hypotheses were presented for discussion, and it was generally agreed that the formulation of these categorical statements proved most valuable in sharpening thinking about the elements of study.

The remainder of this note will consist of selected examples of some of those hypotheses which were proposed for searching inquiry.

Concepts Regarding Centralization in General That centralization of industry has caused centralization of government; that centralization of functions of government is a necessary result of the increase of such functions; that centralization of services is more rapid in times of crisis (war, depression) than in peaceful, normal times

National-State Relations: That national legislation to supplement State action has tended to take away the States' interest in the fields covered; that national loans to States and their instrumentalities tend to be apportioned more on the basis of political expediency than on the basis of social or economic needs; that pressure groups have a greater influence on State legislation than on Federal legislation

Central-Local Relations: That grants-in-aid seldom reduce inequalities in service (e.g., educational opportunities) to any great extent; that they do not reduce but rather increase local expenditures from local sources for the same service; that grants-in-aid (Federal or State) tend to become matters of right and to be distributed on bases fixed by law in which need is given less consideration than other factors (population, area); that small States and small counties tend to get more than their share on either a need basis or a population basis; that the offer of national loans and grants to local governments for public works arouses greatest interest in the poorest communities.

State-Local Relations: That Presidents, Senators, Congressmen, governors, and other State-wide elective officers have seldom started their political careers at a level lower than the county; that State governments have lagged behind cities in the expansion of functions and services since 1900; that legislative control over cities has not been effective in holding local units to fixed standards; that self-regarding functions of local government have become far less important than those which the local governments exercise as units of the State; that the lower the level of government the less interest is shown in elections.

Interstate Relations: That there is increasing uniformity of services and service standards among State governments; that uniform State legislation has been more successful with respect to *commercial* than with respect to *social* legislation; that very few governmental reforms are adopted in all forty-eight States, and that even when adopted they are not uniform from State to State.

Central and Local Governments: That the function of political parties in National and State Governments is of declining importance; that this is due to the rising personnel standards in both National and State Governments; that *welfare legislation* to be administered effectively needs to be administered in a decentralized fashion, while *business-regulatory legislation* to be administered effectively needs to be administered in a centralized manner; that national control over States through grants-in-aid has been more effective in raising and maintaining standards than State legislative commands to local units without grants-in-aid.

These categorical statements are a distillation of the conclusions reached by those who have studied the problems. They may delimit an area of agreement, acceptable premises, or serve as subject

to disproof, and they should point the way to further questions deemed significant for study. The propositions are not necessarily consistent with each other, nor are they all of the same scope. It was felt, however, that such specific propositions would advance research more than a general formulation of the broader aspects of the problem and leading research men have found the attempt to formulate such hypotheses an aid in research planning.

THE VALIDITY OF SCHEDULES AND QUESTIONNAIRES

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The purpose of this report is to present a brief summary of an experiment with a variety of questionnaires and schedules and to review some of the problems involved in the construction of such instruments. A group of mature social workers, high-school teachers, and graduate students coöperated with the writer in testing a variety of well-known questionnaires and schedules¹ and several newly constructed ones.²

The schedules were filled out by experienced interviewers, and the questionnaires were sent to clients of unemployment relief agencies, to high-school students and their parents, and to church members who had agreed to answer—anonymously—the questionnaires as fully and promptly as possible. These groups were selected from communities extensively studied by the writer over a period of sixteen years.³

Some of the questionnaires were sent to a group of people within two homogeneous communities. The aim was to secure data that

¹ See Chase Going Woodhouse and Faith M. Williams, Technical Bulletin No. 386, United States Department of Agriculture, November 1933, and American Public Health Association, *Appraisal Form for City Health Work*, 1934.

Alida C. Bowler and Ruth S. Bloodgood, *Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Boys*, Children's Bureau Publication Nos. 228 and 230, Parts I and II (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1935).

George Lundberg, *Social Research* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929), pp. 127-129; E. S. Bogardus, "Measuring Public Opinion," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII, 5 (May-June 1933), 464-469.

² Questionnaires on cost of living, nature and extent of juvenile delinquency, public opinion, attitudes of unemployed toward public relief, religious and recreational activities, and attitudes of certain selected nationality and culture groups.

³ See Pauline V. Young, *Pilgrims of Russian-Town*, California State Unemployment Commission, Report and Recommendations (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932), chapters I and II; E. S. Bogardus, *The City Boy and His Problems* (New York: House of Ralston, printers, 1926).

might lead to an understanding of certain aspects of social and personal situations: forms of family control, housing conditions, nature of health problems, extent of unemployment, recreational and religious activities, nature of group opinion, and so on. Each type of questionnaire was sent to a different group of three hundred persons. Usable replies were received from one hundred and fifty to two hundred persons in each group.

Attempts were made to secure data from homogeneous groups. To eliminate language handicaps data were secured from first generation English-speaking Russian Molokans, from first generation English-speaking Russian-Polish Jews in the Temple Street district of Los Angeles—areas of first settlement for both of the above groups for a period of thirty-five years—and from white American-born Protestants in Huntington Park—a satellite middle-class area of Los Angeles. All of these three communities are characterized by considerable homogeneity and by relatively high group solidarity.

A number of factors stand out as significant when the schedule or the questionnaire is used as a sole instrument of study or when used in initiating a study even by experienced field investigators:

1. A relatively large number of people respond to schedules and questionnaires when adequately informed, when responses are assured of anonymity, when approached by competent field investigators, and when impressed by the sincerity of the investigator
2. However, the data secured from large groups are so highly isolated and segmented that they show little or no relationship to the social process and the conditions or traits studied. Scientific students of social life are basically interested in the complexities of social processes, in the network of behavior patterns of cultural worlds in relation to social life and to personality adjustment. The data obtained through the schedule and questionnaire in the present study shed little light on the above conditions. Yet our experimentors showed a constant tendency to generalize on the basis of the data secured through the schedule and questionnaire.

3. A control group of experienced social workers, high-school teachers, and graduate students who did not participate in our experiment but who had read the reports of intensive sociological studies gained more insight into the cultural patterns and the existing realities of life and social processes than did the group who participated in our experiments before reading such monographs.

4. Common terms, such as "housing," "recreation," "unemployment," "cost of living"—though explicitly defined and carefully broken down into their component aspects—conveyed a variety of meaning to different persons in a homogeneous community.

5. While every precaution was taken to secure "objective and quantitative data" only (e.g., amount of rent paid per month for last three months, age at which working son or daughter left school, etc.), a variety of interpretations were placed upon these "facts" by father and mother when they filled out the questionnaire separately. In subsequent interviews it was found that these persons attempted to project themselves into the thinking of the inquirer ("Does he mean rent inclusive or exclusive of utilities, of work done for landlord, of back rent, etc?"). Highly definitive and explicit terminology did not materially remedy the situation because of the intricate complexities involved in seemingly simple aspects of social life.

6. While the questionnaire or schedule is an ineffective instrument in *initiating* a social study, either can be used effectively when considerable data are already available about the cultural setting and the social relationships of groups and persons. A skillfully constructed questionnaire or schedule regarding certain specified circumstances can be used to advantage. These findings closely correlate with those of the Webbs,⁴ who maintain that when a whole range of occurrences has already been ascertained, and "that what is needed is merely an enumeration of their location either in space

⁴ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Methods of Social Study* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1932), p. 73.

or time, a precisely formulated questionnaire, confined to an inquiry as to *where*, *when*, and to *what* extent these facts will prevail. . . may be the only practical way of completing the investigation."

Under these circumstances, the questionnaire or the schedule can be used to advantage when the following considerations are observed:

1. The point of view of the group studied should be carefully considered before the investigation is made and after the data are at hand for analysis and interpretation.

2. The questions should be asked in the light of the particular cultural milieu and the findings related to that milieu.

3. The *apperception mass* of each informant should be considered in the light of the information supplied by him.

4. Simple and concise wording within easy grasp of *the least* intelligent persons included in the study should be used. Average intelligence is too high a standard in planning schedules or questionnaires.⁶

5. Questions and statements should be so designed as to eliminate antagonism, suspicion, or resentment. It is best to omit direct questions about income, holding of property, and use of intoxicants, even though anonymity is assured. A large number of people consider such questions to belong in the "spiritual private property kit" not to be pried open by an "impersonal, formal, objective" questionnaire.

6. The questionnaires and schedules should be made interesting to the informants and important enough to justify the time spent

7. A maximum of checking and underscoring of items and a minimum of estimates, impressions, and opinions should be included.

8. The data sought should be grouped in clear and logical order and arranged attractively. A brilliant questionnaire often forfeits

⁶ Robert E. Chaddock, *Principles and Methods of Statistics* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1925), p. 389

its own purpose if ineffectively presented to the eye and if its organization is obscure and vague.

Schedules and questionnaires should be used sparingly. When used as sole methods of study—not supplemented by other methods of research—they often deserve the hard words spoken about them; namely, that they constitute the “underworld method of science,” or, as the late Luther Fry put it, they are the “high sounding travesty of scientific study” of the saint or the fool.

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2. “Model Questionnaire,” *System*, XLIII (January 1934), 29ff.
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APPRAISAL TECHNIQUES IN EDUCATION

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In recent years both the elementary- and secondary-school curricula have been reconstructed to include more comprehensive objectives of instruction. The older and major emphasis on mastery of information and skills has been supplemented by such newer objectives as pupil growth in desirable attitudes, interests, appreciations, critical thinking, and creative expression. This reconstruction of the curriculum has demanded a corresponding expansion in methods of evaluation.

The newer trends in evaluative procedures may be grouped under the major functions served and objectives tested. Most educators are interested, for instance, in an index of the pupil's ability to handle abstract relationships. Such an index provides a first approximation for guiding the pupil in his academic tasks. After this index, an evaluation of subject mastery, of skills, of attitudes, of interests, of critical thinking, of social adjustment, and of creative expression is sought in the modern school. In this report the trends in some formal evaluation techniques will be indicated.

Recent developments in evaluating academic aptitude. The most recent development in the evaluation of academic aptitude is the factor analysis of the components of what is commonly called intelligence and is tested by a variety of available intelligence tests. Dr. L. L. Thurstone, for example, is conducting factor analyses and studies of primary mental abilities. By means of statistical analysis Thurstone has isolated and interpreted seven primary factors which he enumerates as the verbal factor, the number factor, the space factor, the memory factor, the perceptual factor, the word factor, and the inductive factor. The analysis of the component factors of academic aptitude will permit a more detailed and definitive description of the pupil.

Recent development in evaluating functional information. The most common type of appraisal in schools is to examine the amount of information that pupils may have acquired. Many information tests, both formal and informal, however, are so constructed that they encourage rote memorization of words rather than the development of real understanding of meanings and concepts. It is desirable to remember important facts and ideas so that they may be utilized in thinking and acting; but a good test of the acquisition of information will employ language that is not identical with that used in a textbook, will involve the *use* of facts and ideas, and the items will be phrased in as lifelike a setting as possible.

Recent development in evaluating work and study skills. Study skills which it is now possible to evaluate by means of pencil-and-paper tests and by self-inventory scales are the capacity to read maps, graphs, charts, and tables, to use a table of contents or the index of a book, to find items in reference books and the like. At the college level, the self-inventory by Wrenn¹ has included other study skills, such as knowing sources of information, finding references, organizing data gathered from several sources, taking notes effectively, and outlining materials.

Recent developments in evaluating attitudes. There is no universal agreement on the kinds and significance of specific or general attitudes that should be developed in schools. These are matters relating to educational philosophy. Certain attitudes, however, which are favorable to social, scientific, and aesthetic improvement are generally deemed highly important by most schools. Attitudes when defined as expressions of opinion have been measured more or less adequately by such measures as Thurstone's opinion scales on war, the church, the Negro, the Japanese, the Chinese, and other topics in the social field.² These scales employ an equal-appear-

¹ Published by Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Cal

² Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill

ing interval technique for weighting the intensity of a statement for or against some object or idea.

Using a different technique, Wrightstone has constructed a generalized measure of social attitudes toward racial, national, and international ideas and phenomena. 'This Scale of Civic Beliefs'^a consists of such statements as "The Japanese are a sly and crafty race" and "Labor unions have accomplished much good." The pupil agrees, disagrees, or is undecided in his response to each item. An alternate form of the scale with items of Form A and Form B matched permits a consistency score or index.

Recent developments in evaluating interests. Interests have long been considered as one of the fundamental factors in motivating the acquisition of functional information, skills, appreciations, and discriminations. Interests may be defined as those drives which lead the individual to various preferences in personal efforts and conduct.

Various techniques have been employed to evaluate interests. The first recorded study of reading interests, for example, employed the technique of an analysis of library-book withdrawals. Certain limitations inhere in this method. The pupils' choices are limited to books found in the library, course requirements influence the choice, and the investigator has no way of knowing whether or not the pupil liked the books he withdrew.

A second technique of evaluating interests is the questionnaire method. The pupil is asked to list the materials he has read or the activities he has performed over a given period of time. Then he is asked to indicate those which he liked best. Here again certain limitations are evident. Pupils have difficulty in remembering materials read and activities performed, and the pupils will be influenced by the standards they know to be approved by the teacher or examiner.

A third technique uses diaries, logs, or journals which students

^a World Book Company, Yonkers, N. Y

or teachers keep in a cumulative fashion. This technique may be illustrated by the Reading Records formulated by the evaluation staff of the Progressive Education Association. The record, after the pupil has made a cumulative log of his readings, is scored so that each entry is assessed in accordance with a predetermined scale of values and by a special formula to denote the maturity of the reading level of the book, magazine, or newspaper article recorded.

The Interest Values Inventory by Maller and Glaser⁴ measures the relative interest in four areas: aesthetic, social, theoretical, and economic.

Recent developments in evaluating critical thinking. The development of critical thinking has become a prominent objective of the natural and social sciences. From the work that has been done both in the curriculum and in evaluation several convenient aspects of thinking may be tested by prepared scales. They are (1) the interpretation of data, (2) the application of principles and generalizations to new situations, and (3) recognizing the logic of an argument or the nature of proof used in materials presented in the curriculum.

At the elementary-school level a Test of Critical Thinking in the Social Studies⁵ is available. This test is divided into three parts: Part I measures abilities to obtain facts from graphs, maps, references, newspapers, and magazines; Part II measures abilities to draw reasonable conclusions from given facts; Part III measures abilities to apply generalizations to new situations.

Exercises which purport to evaluate ability to make reasonable inferences comprise Part III of the Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities.⁶ The high-school pupil is presented with a set of facts in narrative, graphic, or tabular form and is asked to check each of a series of inferences which follow, indicating whether the inference is reasonable in the light of facts given, is contra-

⁴ Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

⁵ Cooperative Test Service, New York, N. Y.

dicted by the facts given, or whether the reasonableness cannot be determined on the basis of facts given.

Recent developments in evaluating personal-social adaptability. Measurement of personal and social adjustment includes a variety of methods. These range from the free-association method, self-descriptive adjustment questionnaires, and psycho-neurotic inventories to rating scales, anecdotal records, and behavior descriptions, including the case-study methods.

The free-association method, which is not widely used, allows an individual to react to certain words, as in the Kent-Rosanoff Free Association Test,⁶ or to certain objects, as in the Rorschach Ink Blot Test. Another means of gathering evidence is the disguised test, which may be illustrated by the Maller Self Marking Test⁷ in which the honesty of pupils in grading their own paper is measured.

Improved rating scales for judging conduct and behavior have appeared. Several of these have been designed for use at the elementary-school level, including the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale,⁸ and the Winnetka Scale for Rating School Behavior and Attitudes.⁹

In self-descriptive scales at the elementary-school level, the best-known scale is the Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet.¹⁰ Those at the secondary-school level are similar in purpose and pattern of development. They include the Thurstone Personality Schedule,¹¹ Bernreuter Personality Inventory,¹² and Maller Character Sketches and Personality Sketches (for individual diagnosis).¹³ These self-description inventories include questions on mental health and emotional stability. When supplemented by intelligent

⁶ C. H. Stoelting Company, Chicago, Ill.

⁷ Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

⁸ World Book Company, Yonkers, N. Y.

⁹ Winnetka Educational Press, Winnetka, Ill.

¹⁰ C. H. Stoelting Company, Chicago, Ill.

¹¹ University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

¹² Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Cal.

¹³ Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

personal observations, the self-descriptive scales are valuable methods of appraisal.

Anecdotal records and behavior descriptions have been used widely to obtain systematic records of behavior problems. The value of anecdotal records has been emphasized by Olson¹⁴ and Randall.¹⁵ Difficulties, however, arise when teachers are not trained observers and when they do not have adequate time to observe the behavior of individuals or to record it systematically and adequately. Often the record becomes unwieldy and frequently the anecdotes are not oriented toward any particular point or factors of personality.

Concluding statement. Recent developments in evaluation procedures correspond to all objectives of the school curriculum. In the more newly emphasized objectives, such as critical thinking, work and study skills, interests, and personal-social adaptability, there have been notable developments in evaluative procedures. It is important that evaluative procedures keep pace with corresponding developments in curriculum practices and objectives. These two aspects of the teaching and learning process supplement one another. Only as newer curricular practices are supplemented by newer evaluative procedures will the largest gains in directed learning be attained.

¹⁴ Willard C. Olson, *The Behavior-Journal Manual of Directions and Forms* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Elementary School, University of Michigan, 1935)

¹⁵ John A. Randall, "The Anecdotal Behavior Journal," *Progressive Education*, XIII (January 1936), 21-26

THE COMMUNITY AS A LABORATORY FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

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The potentialities of the community in the teaching process have been noted by sociologists. Cook has said:

From an educational standpoint, the local social world is the fundamental unit of learning and teaching. It is the child's greatest educator, for in it he comes of age. It inducts him into its forms and norms of life, its groups and associations, and thus affects his school achievement in countless ways. It is the chief source of "life" materials for the teacher.¹

Leading educators have sought methods whereby school procedures might be centered in the life of the community in which the school is located. The Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association concludes:

On this foundation of concrete and first-hand social observation, activity and experience—much of which the child inevitably brings to the school when he begins his formal education, and which expands as he matures, travels about and bears social responsibilities of ever increasing gravity—the entire program of social science instruction should be erected.²

Progress has been made in this direction by the Committee on Community Study of the Progressive Education Association and by the Commission on the Use of Resources in Education of the National Education Association.

Community study implies the planning of studies around significant problems in the community. Social studies offer more possibilities in this direction than other courses of study.

¹ L. A. Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938), p. 14

² Beard and others, *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission* Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), pp. 58-59

The objectives of community study may be summarized as follows:¹

1. Pupils should obtain a body of functional knowledge about the cultural, industrial, political, and geographical characteristics of their immediate environment.
2. Pupils should envision the community as a social organism, characterized basically by human interactions.
3. Pupils should acquire a relatively objective and well-balanced point of view toward all communities, including their own.
4. Pupils should utilize the immediate community as a reflection or illustration or embodiment of broader and basic contemporary problems and trends.
5. Pupils should participate in cooperative community activities to improve community life.

In terms of these objectives the teacher will plan his units and unit activities. In some instances, the major work of the class may be directed to the resources available in the community.

THE SEARCH FOR INFORMATION

During the last ten years a vast number of books and pamphlets dealing with community problems have been made available by publishing houses, educational organizations, governmental bureaus and departments, social-service groups, and quasi-public and private organizations. Noteworthy are the *Public Affairs Pamphlets*,² *Pamphlets on Public Affairs for Use in Social Studies Classes*,³ and special compilations.⁴ The source units developed in the Summer Workshops associated with the Progressive Education

¹ Adapted from "Objectives of Community Study," in Wilson and Harris, *A Community Approach to Social Education*. Criteria for the selection of activities in terms of these objectives are given in Aldrich, "The Teacher Explores the Community," in *Utilization of Community Resources in the Social Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1938), pp. 23-25.

² Office of Education Bulletin, 1937, No. 3, with supplements.

³ Bulletin No. 8 of the National Council for the Social Studies.

⁴ Such as the Appendices of *A Guide to Cooperative Community Study*, Bulletin of the St. Louis County Commission on the Teaching of the Social Studies.

Association include valuable summaries while current materials are listed in the "Notes and News" section of *Social Education*.

When the teacher and the class have chosen a problem on which to work, the proper sources of documentary materials may be selected. A study of population problems, for example, would draw upon publications of such organizations as Brookings Institution, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Social Science Research Council, Industrial Conference Board, Milbank Memorial Fund, National Association of Manufacturers, National Recreation Association, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Labor.

The publications of the Census that relate to the State and community should be a part of the school library and should be used as the basis for community studies. Reference should be made also to the *United States Government Manual*,¹ which presents information on the functions of governmental offices, and the bibliography of the Superintendent of Documents, *Government Publications Showing Work of the Government*.²

Another source related to population problems is the series of reports of the White House Conference on Recent Social Trends and those of the National Resources Committee. The State board of health and social-security commission should be consulted on State phases of the problem, as should be the local department of public welfare and public health. Local offices of Federal departments and bureaus may have valuable materials, especially the United States Employment Service, the National Youth Administration, and the Works Progress Administration.

In the course of locating source materials for the class and school library many contacts will be made with the social institutions of the community which will give a personal, intimate view of their work. Initial contacts may be arranged through the social workers

¹ Washington, D. C.: National Emergency Council, United States Information Service, 1934, with semiannual supplements

² Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office

in the school system, the community council, or the department of sociology of a local college. Observation of the activities of the agencies should be considered an essential part of the work of the class. But the richest understanding will come from actual participation in the work of a community agency.

THE ORGANIZATION OF INFORMATION

A social-studies teacher should be trained in the techniques of social research and interpretation.⁹ A course in community analysis should be a first step in such training. The teacher should read the reports of social studies of communities, such as Thrasher's *The Gang*¹⁰ and Maller's *School and Community*.¹¹ Accounts of techniques of social research are given in Palmer's *Field Studies in Sociology*,¹² Chapin's *Field Work and Social Research*,¹³ and Thrasher's article on "The Study of the Total Situation."¹⁴

Teachers are usually better prepared to record information gained from written sources than information from observation, questionnaires, and schedules. In the latter case data should be recorded as soon as possible. A standard face sheet will aid in maintaining some uniformity in recording.

When data exist in quantity they are usually more meaningful when arranged in some statistical order, in frequency tables and diagrams. Care must be taken that tables and graphs are prepared accurately and systematically. Modley¹⁵ and Schoen¹⁶ offer suggestions for the presentation of information in charts and graphs.

In addition to general averages, tendencies, and trends, spot

⁹ James A. Michener, "Participation in Community Surveys as Social Education," *Utilization of Community Resources in the Social Studies*, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-165.

¹⁰ Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936 (rev. ed.).

¹¹ New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938.

¹² Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928.

¹³ New York: The Century Company, 1920.

¹⁴ *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1, 8 (April 1928), 477-490.

¹⁵ Rudolf Modley, *How to Use Pictorial Statistics* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1937).

¹⁶ Harriet H. Schoen, "The Making of Maps and Charts," *Utilization of Community Resources in the Social Studies*, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-98.

maps and social base maps, where appropriate, should be presented. Plotting must be carefully checked and clearly shown.¹⁷ The construction of social research maps is discussed by Palmer¹⁸ and Colcord.¹⁹

INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Interpreting information is a more difficult task than compiling data. The teacher and student must be familiar with principles of logical thinking. Where data are complete, proper inferences can be drawn. Where a study is based on a sample, as, for example, a study of property values based on price lists of realtors, it is necessary to state the assumptions on which the conclusions are based—that the sampling is representative of the whole community and that the prices are true values. Where data are incomplete, conclusions are in the nature of conjectures or hypotheses. Conclusions should always be compared with those of other observers.

The extent to which students will generalize from materials will depend upon their age level, mental and chronological. It is a frequent error of teachers to think that because a child can repeat a generalization he understands it. Verbalism, as Dr. Horn has pointed out, is the enemy of education.

The value of the conclusions will depend on the thoroughness, accuracy, intelligence, and originality of the researcher. While teachers will help to interpret data, the students should work through the actual steps in reasoning. This skill in generalizing is probably more important than the social data to be gathered.

PLANNING FOR SOCIAL ACTION

Community study comes into its own when it goes beyond the supplementation of the curriculum and leads to plans for social ac-

¹⁷ Symbols may be obtained from the Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22d Street, New York, N. Y.

¹⁸ *Op cit*, pp. 185-191

¹⁹ *Your Community* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939), pp. 14-19

tion in the community. Here is the justification of *social* studies. Significant work has been done by Doherty,²⁰ Hanna,²¹ and Michener.²²

Illustrations of projects leading to community improvement include the work of safety patrols in contributing to public safety, fire prevention, the planting of gardens and trees, the care of school property, the control of pests, the improvement of buildings, and practical work in reforestation. Community health has been improved by young people in such work as cleaning up neighborhoods, passing on information on sanitary laws, aiding in control of smoke, preparing bulletins and demonstrations of adequate diets, and participation in first-aid and Red Cross work. Teachers of agriculture, the Future Farmers of America, and the 4H Clubs have contributed immeasurably to the agricultural improvement of communities. Youth contribute to the civic arts in their communities through art exhibits and purchases for their schools, children's theaters, and music projects open to students and adults.

Hanna concludes his account with the statement:

The entire thesis of this book rests on the assumption that men are constantly struggling to improve conditions; that today, as never before, this urge to better the general welfare dominates the minds of men; that today, as never before, we have the material and intellectual resources for designing a better environment and achieving our plan; that the direct accomplishment of this task is the only vital and significant educational experience toward which we can afford to work; that children and youth must be given the wisest guidance in accepting their share of this great social task.²³

Today the classroom teacher has a wealth of source material and technical guides to direct his teaching to the community. To the

²⁰ Nell Doherty, "Recreation Unit: An English Course That Affected a City," *Clearing House*, XIII: 8 (April 1939), 466-471.

²¹ Paul Hanna, *Youth Serves the Community* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1936), and "Social Education through Cooperative Community Service," in *Utilization of Community Resources in the Social Studies*, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-143.

²² James A. Michener, *op. cit.*, 144-165.

²³ Paul Hanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275.

teacher of social studies is given the opportunity to develop real social education: acquaintance with the realities of American life, development of skill in the organization and interpretation of social data, and participation in the coöperative solution of community problems.

SOCIAL SURVEY BY CLASSROOM TEACHER

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For many years educational leaders have been urging teachers to develop an increasing understanding of their pupils: the nature of child development, individual differences, and the influence of the community. But knowledge of heredity in terms of individual endowment, or of maturation in terms of development, or of environment in terms of opportunities is not sufficient. These three forces interact: environment provides the opportunities for the developing child to realize the potentialities of his endowment.

Teachers, through association, are generally more appreciative of the physiological and psychological changes in young people than of the social-economic changes in the environment in which these young people live. How often do teachers advise children to go into teaching, or stenography, or selling because they do not know about the opportunities for key-punch operators, knit-back machine operators, or stabilizer operators in the community?

The teacher, in order to understand fully the needs and potentialities of children, must observe the community. Observation, however, is not merely looking around but a technique of controlled seeing. Observations can be direct or indirect, formal or informal, controlled or random, precise or approximate, complete or sampled, primary or derived, objective or subjective, active or passive. In general, the teacher will be a participating member of the community, with ample opportunity for a purposeful study of things, events, and people.

Some objectives of community study are:

1. To ascertain the vocational opportunities for out-of-school youth
2. To find out about the recreational facilities in the community

3. To locate community resources that might be utilized in a realistic curriculum
4. To discover the operation of public and private utilities
5. To assay the community needs for curriculum development
6. To acquaint school youth with the community in which they live

The first task in making a community study is to select some problem or purpose. With the specific problem in mind, questions must be formulated in such a way that the answers to them will give evidence about the postulated problem. The method of community study is a method of controlled observation.

When the questions are formulated, it is advisable to find whether any of the questions have already been answered in whole or in part. Have the needed data been collected by the Census Bureau, the State Tax Commission, the Real Property Inventory, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the local newspaper, or local chamber of commerce? For most communities in the United States some relevant data for any problem are matters of public record—in health offices, in courts, in banks, and so on. A person making a community study will conserve his time by making use of available data and by intensive observation of those aspects for which adequate data do not exist. One of the common errors in making a community survey is the tendency to collect so much data that the surveyor is overwhelmed by the impossibility of interpreting the observations.

Planning involves the following steps:

- A. Specification of the problem
- B. Selection of a staff
- C. Preparation of materials: tests, scales, questionnaires and schedules, check lists, interview forms, observation record, etc.
- D. Preparation of directions and instructions
- E. Organizing the flow of reports
- F. Establishing date lines when specified sections shall be completed

- G. Routinizing statistical tabulations and analyses
- H. Preparing the final report

Suppose the problem is to ascertain vocational opportunities for out-of-school youth. Then the questions needing answers may be:

1. How many out-of-school youth are there?
2. What is their educational preparation?
3. What is their marital status; their familial responsibility?
4. What are the vocational opportunities?
5. How are persons hired?
6. What training is demanded, etc.?

The public-school records may yield information about the first two items; the National Youth Administration and the United States Employment Service may have data about the other items. Some of the questions will need auxiliary evidence. A questionnaire to youth that have left school may bring evidence about employment, vocations, and education still required. Another questionnaire may be needed to ascertain what kinds of persons are being hired by manufacturers, retailers, wholesalers; how these persons are selected; how they are trained, what the employer expects in their preparation, etc.

Where the study calls for interviews with the youth and employers special schedules should be prepared. An interview is a questionnaire applied to a selected group of persons by direct contact. As such, it should be worked out as carefully as if it were given in writing. The surveyor should know the questions to be asked and how the answers are to be recorded. The recording should be done at the interview or immediately after. Memory plays havoc with unrecorded interviews.

Other methods that may be utilized are questionnaires and score cards for measuring and evaluating the presence or absence of certain characteristics, check lists as well as tests applied to individuals and groups.

The value of a survey depends upon the knowledge and experi-

ence of the surveyor. The surveyor must be able to organize and administer the study so that the final report will not be out-of-date when it is released. Secondly, the surveyor and the staff must have good sensory equipment. Surveyors must be able to see and hear, report and interpret. Thirdly, the surveyor must specify the conditions of the survey. Specification will be in the directions and the observational report forms, in defining the community area, and the excluded areas. Fourthly, the surveyor must demonstrate that the observations are reliable; that if other observers were to record the data, they would arrive at the same results. Fifthly, the surveyor must demonstrate that the data are valid in terms of the conclusions reached. Data for a survey must be relevant and symptomatic of the questions under study.

The survey method may encompass all research techniques—historical, documentary, experimental, questionnaire, interview, tests, etc. Each method or device has its own pitfalls. The surveyor must be cognizant of all sources of error and must guard against misinterpretation. It must be remembered that most people read survey reports uncritically, noting the generalizations without regard to how they were inferred. This places a double responsibility on the surveyor: to guard generalizations and to write them well.

A survey of a community can provide the classroom teacher with knowledge of the community and changes within the community. Such surveys, however, need not be limited to the teacher. High-school students may profit by the experience of participating in a community survey, particularly if one of the objectives of the school is community awareness or social competence. It is hoped that more teachers will attempt to make community surveys so that they can achieve greater understanding of the interrelations between school and community.

SOCIAL TRENDS IN NEW YORK CITY

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Few communities are as fully representative of contemporary American life as is the City of New York. Its seven million inhabitants, the variety of commercial and industrial concerns—not being dominated by any single type of business or manufacturing—reflect all shades of the economic, social, and cultural pattern of the country. The tempo of change in the metropolis is generally faster than that of other communities, but the character and the direction of trends are generally parallel with those of the rest of the country. As the nation goes so goes New York, but a little faster.

The purpose of the present report is to present a summary of statistical data bearing upon demographic and social-economic trends in New York City.¹ It is not the aim of this report to prove that the metropolis is advancing on all cylinders, nor will it endeavor to show that the City is turning into a "tyronopolis," in Mumford's terminology, bent upon self-destruction. Its primary aim is to examine some objective data on recent trends and to aid those who are engaged in planning for the future of the community in order to provide more adequate facilities for health, education, and welfare. For planning to be effective it must be based upon a realistic factual basis.

A. POPULATION TRENDS

Recent years have witnessed a revolution in demography. After a period of unprecedented growth the City is rapidly approaching its all-time peak, to be followed by a decline. The City's population in 1940, as revealed in the preliminary report of the United States

¹ A graphic summary of these statistical data has been prepared by Dr. Luther Gulick and the writer and was published by the Institute of Public Administration. The present report was prepared in connection with the Bowery-Macy Study of Economic Trends. The writer is indebted to Dr. Gulick for guidance throughout this study.

Census Bureau, is 7,380,259,^a showing a gain of some 425,000 for the decade 1930-1940 compared with a gain of 1,275,315 during the preceding decade. This is not surprising in view of the dwindling natural increase—the excess of births over deaths declined from 568,458 in 1920-1929 to 301,497 in 1930-1939. The balance of foreign migrations during the latter decade was negligible.

Though no direct information is available regarding immigration into the City from other American communities, there is some indirect evidence that during the depression there was a "back to the land" movement and that the number moving into the City was probably balanced by the number moving out to suburban communities, rural places, and other areas. The total gain from migration, both foreign and domestic, during 1930-1939 was only 123,503 persons, compared with a gain of 706,857 during 1920-1929.

Movement in and out of City. At present, there is no direct source of information on movement of population in and out of the City, though such information would be of enormous value to various industries and to those engaged in planning, housing, education, and welfare. However, some light may be thrown on this problem by an analysis of school records: the number of pupils discharged because the family is moving from the City and the number of pupils coming from other communities and seeking enrollment in the City's public schools, as shown in the records of the Attendance Bureau

During the school year 1938-1939 some 31,464 new pupils came to New York City from other communities and 20,243 pupils were removed from the City, leaving a net gain of 11,221 pupils. This includes only elementary and junior high schools, and does not include senior high schools and vocational schools. The gain was due at least in part to the New York World's Fair and to the many refugees (4,261 of the incoming pupils came from Europe).

Among those coming into the City, 42 per cent came from other

^a The writer had estimated, in 1938, that the 1940 population of the City would be 7,395,000 (See *Recent Trends in New York City*, Part 1, Chart 1, Institute of Public Administration)

communities of New York State, 13 per cent from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 5 per cent from New England, 20 per cent from other States, and 18 per cent from outside the United States. In two per cent the place of origin was not stated. Among those removed from the City, one third went to other communities of this State, 20 per cent to New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 8 per cent to New England, 30 per cent to other States, and 9 per cent left the United States.

Intracommunity movement. Of greater practical significance than the changes in the total population is the constant flow of population from one borough to another and from neighborhood to neighborhood. More than fifty per cent of the families of Manhattan have resided less than two years in their present residences. During the decade 1929-1939 one tenth of the school districts had lost more than one third of their respective enrollments while another tenth of the districts had gained more than a fourth of their enrollments. There are individual schools in which there is a complete turnover of pupils during a few years.

The population movement within the community is generally outward bound from the older centers of population to the sparsely populated sections at the outskirts of the City. However, the 1940 Census indicates that Manhattan has gained population during the last decade, reversing the losing trend shown in the preceding two decades. This is undoubtedly the result of better planning and housing developments. The rapid and often premature expansion of previous years has resulted in enormous expenditures for the City and staggering losses to owners of realty in the heart of the City.

Age composition of population. The marked decline in the birth rate, the noteworthy increase in longevity, and the elimination of the influx of young immigrants are changing the City's age pattern. The population is aging. In 1900 there were in New York City more children under five than adults of fifty and over. At present there are about three times as many persons of fifty and over as children under five.

In 1900, the number of infants under one year was almost equal to the total number of old persons of sixty-five and over. In 1930, there were about three times as many old persons as newborn. In 1960, there will be nearly ten such old people for each newborn child.

This fundamental change in the age pattern has definite social and industrial implications. There will be growing pressure toward increasing public support for the aged and reductions in the educational budget for children. Industries that cater to the needs of children and schools will show some decline, while those which deal with the needs of the aged will expand.

School enrollment. The first grade, which prior to 1930 had a larger enrollment than any other elementary grade, has now the smallest enrollment. It is estimated that by 1945 the enrollment in the first grade of the public schools will have declined to 55,000 or one half of the 1927 peak enrollment of that grade (110,441 pupils). By 1950 the public schools of the City will have about 250,000 fewer pupils than in 1940, or a total enrollment of 900,000 pupils.

Density of population. The past growth of New York City, characterized by an utter lack of planning, was accompanied by a general increase in the density of population. This was particularly striking in Lower Manhattan which, half a century ago, was not only the center of business, trade, finance, and manufacturing but also housed the majority of the City's population. Since then, the movement of the residential population has been toward the less congested areas of Manhattan and the other boroughs. In the central zone of the City, within a radius of four miles from City Hall, the density decreased from 124 per acre in 1920 to 93 in 1930. This zone lost exactly one fourth of its population during that decade.

This corresponds to the general pattern in the growth (and decline) of American communities. Concentration of business and industry in the downtown section attracts laborers and newly arriving immigrants who settle in or near the section, resulting in

increased congestion. With adjustment and increased earnings the residents tend to move out of the congested area, usually to a neighboring section. Business and industry follow this population movement with encroachment upon residential sections before the latter have fully developed. This results in further flight of residents to the undeveloped outskirts of the city, creating interstitial areas between the old business centers and the new, usually restricted, residential areas.

B. MANUFACTURING, INDUSTRY, AND EMPLOYMENT

In relation to the rest of the United States, New York City barely held its industrial position during the depression

From 1929 to 1937 (the last date for which records of the United States Census of Manufactures are available) the number of industrial employees in the City decreased one tenth, from 563,249 to 506,208, and the percentage of the country's industrial employees found in the City declined from 6.37 per cent to 5.91 per cent. The number of manufacturing plants declined one fourth, from 29,446 to 22,235, and the percentage of the country's plants located here declined from 13.96 to 13.33 per cent. The total value of manufactures produced in the City declined one third, from \$5,984,254,941 to \$3,962,292,660. The percentage of the value of the country's manufacturing produced in this City decreased from 8.50 to 6.53 per cent.

The records of the New York State Department of Labor throw further light on the problem of employment. The index of factory employment in the City (with 1925-1927 as a base) declined rather continuously from 1929 to the middle of 1932 when it stood at 55. Since then, there has been consistent recovery, with notable fluctuations. In 1939 the index of employment (monthly average) was only one per cent below that of 1929, the indices being 90 and 91, respectively. (In 1929 employment had already declined 9 per cent below the 1925-1927 level.) During the last quarter of 1939, the

index of employment was higher than during any other quarter throughout the period 1929-1939. The monthly average of the number of factory employees in 1939 was 152,600 compared with 154,209 in 1929, or a decline of about one per cent.

The index of pay rolls, which includes both the number of employees and their wages, showed greater fluctuation than the trend of employment. It rose higher in 1929 (when it exceeded 100) and it fell lower in 1932 (when it stood at 45). In 1939 the pay-roll index recovered to about 83 per cent of the 1929 level. However, in 1939 the cost of living was lower than in the base period of 1925-1927. When corrected for the difference in living cost, the average wage in 1939 was actually higher than in 1929, the weekly averages being \$33.28 and \$32.02, respectively.

Movement of industry within the community. Some industries, such as the clothing industry, have moved from Lower Manhattan to mid-Manhattan, but others, such as the printing industry, remained largely concentrated in Lower Manhattan.

The records of the United States Census of Manufactures by boroughs throw some light on the movement of manufacturing within the City. An analysis of the records for 1919 and 1937 (the last available) shows that the net change of such movement is less than generally supposed, as will be seen in the following percentages of the City's manufacturing employees located in the five boroughs in 1919 and 1937:

	1919	1937
Manhattan	60.6	57.6
Brooklyn	26.2	26.8
The Bronx	3.1	4.0
Queens	7.3	10.2
Richmond	2.8	1.4

Movement of industry in and out of New York City. There are no accurate data on the movement of industry in and out of the City, though some changes are to be expected in the light of general

population movements. The net effect of such movement is revealed in the above mentioned changes in the proportion of the country's employees and manufacturing establishments found in this city.

At the request of the Mayor, the Tax Department of New York City has assembled some data on the number of new industrial concerns that were established in the City, including those coming from other cities, and the number of such concerns that were discontinued or left the City during the year of 1939. These are based on the records of the State Department of Labor. The number of new concerns was 4,363 and those discontinued numbered 3,625, thus showing a net gain of 738 industrial concerns. The number of employees of new concerns was 38,846 and those employed in discontinued concerns numbered 34,717, showing a gain of 4,129 employees.

The working population of New York City. The working (or daytime) population is distributed differently than the residential population. Thus Manhattan, which houses less than one fourth of the City's residential population includes nearly six tenths of the City's manufacturing employees, as shown in the results of the 1937 Census of Manufactures. The concentration of workers in Manhattan is even greater when we consider the total number of employees in all business and industries. Of the total of 2,458,000 persons engaged in all types of remunerative work in the City, fully 1,715,000 or 70 per cent are working in Manhattan; 411,000 or 17 per cent work in Brooklyn; 172,000 or 7 per cent in the Bronx; 129,000 or 5 per cent in Queens, and 31,000 or 1 per cent in Richmond. The following is an estimated percentage distribution⁸ by industry of the working population of Manhattan (1,715,000 persons).

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Manufacturing	21.8
Retail trade	12.2
Wholesale trade	10.7

⁸ The estimated distribution is based upon the figures presented by Hoyt and Badgley in *The Housing Demands of Workers in Manhattan*, p. 77

<i>Industry (continued)</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Insurance, real estate, and finance	10.4
Domestic servants, porters, etc.	8.6
Professional and educational workers	5.0
Proprietors (engaged in business)	4.8
Service (barber shops, employment agencies, etc.)	4.6
Public service (Federal, State, City; also social workers, hospital employees, charitable and religious organizations)	4.2
Communication transportation (excluding busses and trucks) and public utilities	4.1
Construction	2.6
Hotels	2.0
Boarding and lodginghouses	0.8
Miscellaneous (amusement, busses and trucks, warehouses, etc.)	8.2

Labor relations. The records of the New York State Department of Labor indicate the trend in the number, causes, and settlement of labor strikes. (Though these figures are for the whole State, they throw some light on the situation in New York City.) There was an increase of strikes in recent years, from 361 in 1929-1932 to 1,491 in 1934-1937. This corresponded somewhat to the general trend of business recovery. The proportion of strikes won by the unions has increased from 40 per cent to 50 per cent during the same period.

In regard to the causes of strikes, the number due to disputes over union recognition is increasing while the number due to disputes over wages has shown a relative decrease. A new cause of strikes is the jurisdictional dispute, due to the conflict between craft and industrial unionism. (This is based on the Preliminary Report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Relations, 1939.)

C. THE TREND IN FOREIGN TRADE

New York City is primarily a center of exchange. Exports and imports are part of the lifeblood of the City. During the depth of

the depression, the value of foreign trade in New York, as well as in the rest of the country, was cut to nearly one half of what it was in the 1926-1929 period. In the last few years the annual amount of foreign trade passing through the Port of New York has been two and one-half billion dollars compared with an annual value of four billion dollars during 1926-1929.

In 1939, both exports and imports passing through the Port of New York showed an increase in the actual dollar values as well as in relation to other American ports. New York's percentage of the country's total foreign trade, exports and imports combined, was higher in 1939 than during any year after the World War.

Throughout the depression New York succeeded in retaining its relative position in regard to the country's foreign trade. It lost some exports but gained in imports. On a dollar-value basis the relative position of the New York Port is better than on a volume basis because New York tends to attract the more expensive commodities, leaving some of the bulk trade to other ports.

Since 1933 there has been greater recovery in the percentage of exports than of imports and in 1939 exports rose more than imports in relation to the country's total foreign trade. Normally, however, imports are of somewhat greater significance to New York than exports, since about one half of the country's imports and about one third of the exports pass through the Port of New York.

D. HOUSING AND REAL PROPERTY

The Real Property Inventory, conducted in 1934, was a house-to-house census of population and buildings, by type, age, use, rentals, and condition. The Inventory revealed that six tenths of the City's land is used for residential purposes. The predominant rental in six tenths of the City's blocks is between \$30 and \$60 per month, with 8.4 per cent over \$60 and 8.7 per cent under \$19 per residence.

Manhattan's residential buildings are generally older than those of the other boroughs. Three out of four (76 per cent) residential structures in Manhattan were built prior to 1900, while only 22.6 per cent of the City total are that old. Manhattan includes only 7 per cent of the City area but 27 per cent of the population (1930), 51 per cent of the taxable value, and 57 per cent of the land value.

The peak in building construction was reached in 1926-1929, and the decline in 1930-1932 was one of the most precipitous of all economic trends. There has been relatively little recovery since 1932. Apparently the overexpansion of the twenties has not yet been completely absorbed.

Residence of Manhattan workers. A study conducted in 1938 revealed that of all income earners working in Manhattan only 19 per cent resided in that borough, one fourth of them resided in Brooklyn, one fifth in Queens, 13.4 per cent in the Bronx, 2.2 per cent in Richmond, 6.3 per cent in New York counties outside of the City, and 13.9 per cent in counties of New Jersey.⁴

Valuation of land and buildings. Prior to 1929 the value of land was consistently higher than that of buildings. In 1929 the value of buildings exceeded that of land, and since 1932 the former has remained above the latter in value. In 1938 these values were \$7,464,539,190 and \$7,076,271,087, respectively.

The trend in values of real property usually lags behind the trends of business and industry. The peak in the total value of land and buildings was reached in 1932 when they were assessed at \$18,524,713,417. The decline was continuous through 1938 when it stood at 78.5 per cent of the 1932 level. The declines in the land values and building values were proportionally equal, each showing a decline of 21.5 per cent during the six-year period 1932-1938. There was a clear leveling off in the declining trend and it is very likely that the near future will see a rising trend.

⁴ From a study of *The Housing Demands of Workers in Manhattan* by Homer Hoyt and L. D. Badgley, Federal Housing Authority

E. LIVING CONDITIONS AND SOCIAL FACTORS

Consumption of electricity. The volume of electric energy metered to consumers, which includes domestic and industrial usage, shows a continuously rising trend, with a slight interruption during 1932-1933 (decline of 6.2 per cent). From 1927 to 1936 the volume increased more than fifty per cent (from 2.62 to 4.01 billion kilowatt hours). The volume of electricity sold to the municipality of New York showed a particularly marked increase.

Consumption of water. The volume of water consumption increased consistently, with minor fluctuations, until 1930, when it reached an all-time peak. It declined in 1931-1932 and has increased slowly since 1933, but even in 1938 the volume was still slightly below that of 1930, a decline of some ten million gallons per day or more than 1 per cent of the total. The decrease, however, was due entirely to the decline in the consumption of water in industrial and business establishments.

Telephones. The number of telephones, like the consumption of electricity, is a modern indicator of both volume of business and standards of living. There was a continuous rise until 1929 and a decline until 1933, a plateau in 1933-1935, followed by recovery to the present. In 1939 the number of telephones in New York City was 1,670,000, or 91.7 per cent of the 1929 number.

The daily number of telephone calls reveals the functional aspects of the telephone, the volume of communications. Its trend was more sensitive to fluctuations than the number of telephones. The decline in calls from 1929 to 1932 was 20 per cent compared with 13.7 per cent decline in telephones, and the recovery from 1932 to 1938 was 17 per cent and 4 per cent, respectively.

Passenger fares. The number of passengers traveling in the City by subways, elevated, Hudson Tube, bus lines, and streetcars indicates the volume of movement within the City and, like the preceding indices, it is a composite of business as well as nonbusiness activity. The number of passenger fares reached a peak of 3.2 billion

in the year 1929, declined regularly to 80.2 per cent of that level in 1933, and recovered with similar regularity to 1939 when it stood at 97.5 per cent of the 1929 volume.

Commuters. The trend in the number of commuters going to and from New York City is revealed in the records of the Transit Commission including all the railroad lines that have terminal facilities in this city.

During the period 1925-1933 the number of commuters increased continuously. After 1933, however, the volume of commuters showed a declining trend. Part of the decline was due to the extension of the Independent Subway to sections in Queens that were previously served by the Long Island line.

In 1938 (last year for which complete data are available) the total number of commuters was 117.8 million compared with 186.6 million in the peak year of 1929, showing a decline of 37 per cent.

Relief. The number of cases on relief mounted from 1931 to 1936 when 450,000 persons received some form of public relief. There was some decline in 1937 to 400,000 cases and a slight rise in 1938 to 425,000 cases. Private philanthropic agencies carry a progressively smaller case load with the expansion of public relief. The three main components of public relief and their relative proportions (1938) are: categorical relief (widows, orphans, etc.), 16 per cent; work relief, 38 per cent; direct or home relief, 46 per cent.

Juvenile delinquency. Since 1902 when the children's court was established in New York City, more than a quarter of a million cases have been brought before the court as alleged delinquents. The most frequent offenses, as revealed in the records for the years 1926-1939, are disorderly conduct, stealing, burglary, and desertion of home. The general trend of delinquency is declining, so that the number of court cases per year is now less than one half of what it was in the twenties.

The marked decrease in the number of cases brought before the Children's Court during recent years is due in part to provision for handling certain types of cases informally without appearance

before the court. The expansion of educational, recreational, and welfare facilities has undoubtedly contributed to the decline of delinquency.

Infant mortality. One of the most significant indices of progress in New York City is the phenomenal reduction in the rate of infant mortality. The number of infants dying during the first year of life per 1,000 live births decreased from 204 in 1900 to 36 in 1939. Equally remarkable was the decline in mortality among children two to five years of age.

SUMMARY

Within the complex pattern of changes in the metropolis during recent years, three major trends appear discernible:

1. The period of rapid expansion and population growth is at an end. The converging streams of population gain have been reduced or diverted. The centripetal movement has turned centrifugal.
2. The economic trend in industry, manufacturing, trade, and employment has shown a characteristic V-shaped direction, declining from 1929 to 1933 with subsequent recovery.
3. The trend in living standards, though dependent upon economic factors, has been generally upward, in regard to health, welfare, and social adjustment.

In the future, the metropolis will have to exert its best coördinated efforts to hold its own. In order to retain its industries, conflicts between capital and labor will have to be solved; and to retain its residents, congestion, noise, and blight will have to be reduced. The City will face increased competition from neighboring communities and areas. There is doubt that New York City will ever be bigger but there is reason to believe that it could be made better. The direction of future expansion is thus likely to be vertical rather than horizontal. But in these days of rapid change, the City will have to "move fast even to stand still."

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send in at once to the editor of this department titles, and where possible descriptions, of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL AWARDS FOR 1940-1941

Eighty-five awards for the academic year 1940-1941, totaling more than \$95,000, have been announced by the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York. The awards provide for study and research in the fields of economics, political science, sociology, statistics, political, social, and economic history, cultural anthropology, social psychology, geography, and related disciplines.

Twelve of the awards, carrying a basic stipend of from \$1,800 to \$2,500, plus travel allowances, cover postdoctoral research training fellowships to men and women under thirty-five years of age who possess the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent. These fellowships are granted for the purpose of enlarging the research training and equipment of promising young social scientists through advanced study and field experience.

Seventeen appointments are predoctoral field fellowships which carry a basic stipend of \$1,800. The recipients are graduate students under thirty years of age who have completed all the requirements for the Ph.D. degree except the thesis. These fellowships are intended to supplement formal academic study by opportunity for direct contact with the materials of social science not available in the classroom or library.

The remaining fifty-six awards are research grants-in-aid, designed to assist mature scholars in the completion of research projects already well under way. Such grants average about \$600 and do not ordinarily exceed \$1,000. Eight of these appointments are made through a special fund specifically granted for the purpose of assisting and encouraging the research of social-science faculties in the South. The objectives and requirements for eligibility are the same as those governing the national grants-in-aid, but applications are restricted to fourteen Southern States.

Of the total number only six appointees will engage in foreign travel—

one to China, one to Great Britain, one to Guatemala, one to Bolivia, one to Brazil and Argentina, and one to the British West Indies.

A partial list of awards, including institutional affiliations and subjects of studies of particular interest in educational sociology, follows:

Postdoctoral Research Training Fellows in the Social Sciences

Harry Alpert, Ph.D., Columbia University; Instructor in Sociology, College of the City of New York; for training in field methods and techniques of urban sociological research

Kingsley Davis, Ph.D., Harvard University; Associate Professor of Sociology, Pennsylvania State College; for training in the study of population structure

Loren Corey Eisley, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania; Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Kansas; for advanced training in physical anthropology

Edward Adamson Hoebel, Ph.D., Columbia University; Assistant Professor of Sociology, New York University; for advanced training in sociological jurisprudence

Francis W. Irwin, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania; Assistant Professor of Psychology, University of Pennsylvania; for advanced training in social psychology

Henry Odbert, Ph.D., Harvard University; Assistant Professor of Psychology, Dartmouth College; for advanced training in social psychology

Omer C. Stewart, Ph.D., University of California; Research Assistant, University of California; for advanced training and field experience in studying the conditioning of children in primitive cultures

Predoctoral Field Fellows in the Social Sciences

David Bailey Carpenter, sociology, University of Washington; for field training in an area characterized by community insecurity and the problem of stranded populations in the Pacific Northwest

Louis Guttman, statistics, University of Minnesota; for field training in the application of selected types of mathematical rationale to sociological data

Allan Richard Holmberg, anthropology, Yale University; for field training in a community of Siriono Indians of eastern Bolivia

Benjamin D. Paul, anthropology, University of Chicago; for field training in a non-Occidental community in Guatemala

Grant-in-Aid Appointees

Homer G. Barnett, Instructor in Anthropology, University of Oregon; for an investigation of the processes involved in culture change

Anton T. Boisen, Lecturer, Chicago Theological Seminary; for a study of the Holy Roller Cults in the United States

Ruth Bunzel, Lecturer in Extension, Columbia University; for a study of the individual in Zuni culture

Claude Arthur Campbell, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Oklahoma; and *Mary R. Campbell*, for a study of political and economic reconstruction in Tennessee

Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Chairman, Department of Sociology, Cornell University; for a study of premarital factors in marital adjustments

Margaret Wooster Curti, Research Assistant, Teachers College, Columbia University; for a comparative study of the intelligence and abilities of white and colored children in Jamaica, British West Indies

Alfred Irving Hallowell, Professor of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania; for a study of the psychological significance of cultural variables in human behavior in an aboriginal hunting people in Manitoba

Rudolph Heberle, Professor of Sociology, Louisiana State University; for study of the industrial and occupational structure of the population of Louisiana

Lisbeth Hellersberg, Consultant Psychologist, Vocational Service for Juniors; for a study of the effect of environmental influences on maturation

Gertrude Howell Hildreth, Psychologist, Lincoln School; for a study of developmental trends and sequences in children's drawings

Alfred Emmons Hudson, Research Fellow in Anthropology, Yale University; for an ethnographic study of the Turkic Tribes of northern Iran and Afghanistan

Hildegard Binder Johnson, for a study of German immigration to Minnesota

Clyde Kluckhohn, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University; for a study of cultural development in Navajo children

Kathryn E. Marfield, Director, Research Council for Blind Children, for a study of the social development of the preschool visually handicapped child

Robert K. Merton, Associate Professor of Sociology, Tulane University; for a study of Negro-white relations in New Orleans

Charles F. Mullett, Associate Professor of History, University of Missouri; for a study of religious minorities in England since 1660

Lois Barclay Murphy, Instructor in Psychology, Sarah Lawrence College; for a study of the assimilation of culture by preschool children

Bernard F. Riess, Assistant Professor of Psychology, Hunter College; for a study of semantic conditioning and transference at various age levels

Edward Holland Spicer, Instructor in Anthropology, University of Arizona; for a study of the social factors contributing to the segregation of Yaquis in Arizona

H. Thompson Straw, Professor of Geography, Western State Teachers College; for a study of land utilization and population problems of the highland rim plateau of Tennessee

William I. Thomas, for a study of Jewish behavior based on life histories and personality documents

Charles Nelson Winslow, Instructor in Psychology, Brooklyn College; for a study of competition, coöperation, and altruism in animal behavior

Southern Grant-in-Aid Appointees

Wayne Dennis, Assistant Professor of Psychology, University of Virginia; for a study of child development in the pueblo of Cochiti

Ira De A. Reid, Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University; for a study of the adjustment of the British West Indian immigrants to the United States

Edgar A. Schuler, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Louisiana State University; for a study of ecological patterns and processes in Baton Rouge, Louisiana

BOOK REVIEWS

The Other Germany, by ERIKA and KLAUS MANN. New York: Modern Age Books, 1940, xvii + 318 pages.

This is the story which the Manns have repeated on many lecture tours. It is more their story, for it is what all who insist upon the separatism of Hitler and National Socialism from the German people would have us believe.

The defense of the "other Germany" is beautifully and forcefully presented. In the first section, "Looking Backward," the authors bring many great German names into perspective—men who have made history. Despite the work of Frederick or of Bismarck, or the writing of Hegel, Fichte, and Nietzsche, the authors emphatically deny any affinity between Hitlerism and the German people.

How, then, explain the fact of eight years of Hitler? The authors recognize the complex factors involved, but attribute it to failure of the Weimar Republic to take firm action against those who would profit from its fall, the appeal to youth, the promises to both labor and capital as well as the professional group, and fear—not fear of death, but fear of anarchy.

The material is personalized by creating a "neutral" to make the analysis, by tracing the village schoolmaster who denounced democracy and secretly wore a swastika only to have his son killed in the Röhm purge and himself to be discharged three months before becoming eligible for a pension, and by a vivid description of the forced trek of women and children for no offense other than being in a breadline, during which a Nazi slips away from the S. S. and generously aids a little lad who was in the line to buy an egg for his mother to make a birthday cake for his father.

The argument is subtle—the "other" Germany has been duped, tricked, and even the Nazis themselves seek to ameliorate their "official" acts. Now the people stand helpless, confused, and repentant and appeal to America to save them from their monstrous tyrants.

In their attempt to renounce Hitlerism as non-German, the authors curiously omit any reference to Hegel or Fichte and spend many pages seeking to show that Nietzsche has been misinterpreted. They do acknowledge the indifference of the masses to democratic government, but fail to state or even admit that such indifference has been characteristic of an authoritarian government of their own choosing. The present writer

would take sharp issue with the plea that "Europe and America belong together. Unless our peace is righteous and lasting, your peace will be threatened." We have heard the siren strains of those who would enlist our aid in the destruction of Germany; this is a unique appeal—even more enticing—to aid in the destruction of Nazism to save Germany from itself!

Parenthood in a Democracy, by LEROY E. BOWMAN and MARGARET LIGHTY. New York: The Parents' Institute, Inc., 1939.

This book is a well-deserved tribute to Robert E. Simon who was leader in founding the United Parents' Association of New York City and who, until his death, was a leader in its conduct. The book does more than some tributes to persons of vision. It gives a thrilling account of the role of organized parents in the education of their children and in the life of their communities.

Teachers and parents alike should read this book. It is an inspiration. What can be done in New York by organized parents can be done, and probably more easily, in any other American school community.

The authors tell the tale in terms of basic principles. They have thought, and deeply, about parents in a democratic school community. They have written skillfully and, so, effectively.

Modern Philosophies of Education, by JOHN S. BRUBACHER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939, 370 pages.

The author has succeeded admirably in his main purpose; namely, "to afford within the covers of a single book an introduction to the whole range of viewpoints on the main problems of educational philosophy." After an orientation in general philosophy and a consideration of certain issues of social policy as they relate to the school, there follows an exposition of philosophy organized so as to shed the light of basically differing points of view on fundamental issues that arise in the conduct of the educative process. The four basic philosophies—pragmatism, naturalism, idealism, and realism, including scholastic realism—which are contrasted throughout the book, are, in the concluding chapter, briefly systematized by showing wherein the first two support progressivism while the last two defend, in varying degree, traditionalism or essentialism. Serious students of education will welcome this clear and unbiased exposition of opposing philosophical positions.

Convert to Freedom, by EITEL WOLF DOBERT. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940, 337 pages.

This is the story of one individual, written autobiographically and presenting the vivid experiences of the writer from his early recollections in Germany shortly before the World War to his escape to freedom a few months ago. It is written with neither bitterness nor malice but is a living, moving document based upon his own experiences and those of his friends and neighbors, many of whom came to visit him after he had moved to Switzerland.

The author describes the developments which lead him to describe dictatorships as progressively cruel, vindictive, and aggressive. To the dictator, the humanitarian and the idealist are but idle dreamers. The will to own and to control can leave no place for justice, happiness, and peace. The epilogue is an earnest plea for America to preserve democracy and peace that she may point the way, free of fear, free of hatred, to a future in which there is freedom of body, mind, and spirit.

Teachers for Democracy, edited by GEORGE E. AXTELL and WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG, and others. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940, xii + 412 pages.

This is the fourth yearbook of the John Dewey Society. Those who read the earlier volumes will find in this the same constructive and challenging point of view and the same forceful and realistic approach applied to the problems of teacher education in a radically changing modern world.

Through the selection of the individual contributors the volume presents a consistent point of view. The fundamental assumptions upon which it is based include the necessity for preserving democracy by means of an appropriate form of education, the need for deeper understanding of the important forces influencing American life and education, the necessity of a closer relation of education to community life, and the view that the "entire life and program of an institution is the potent influence in determining the values and actions of its graduates."

There are few who would take issue with these assumptions; many would take sharp issue with some of their implications as they are developed in the various chapters—for example, the last chapter is a defense of teacher affiliation with organized labor.

It is an interesting speculation to raise the query whether it is demo-

cratic to select only those contributors who have "a general point of view with which all (of the contributors) are in agreement" in the preparation of a volume on teachers for democracy.

Economics for the Millions, by HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. New York: Modern Age Books, 1940, 262 pages.

This book, rather than being a popularized treatise on economics as its title suggests, is a critique of our capitalistic economy from the Marxian point of view. Professor Fairchild has succeeded in stripping orthodox economics of much of its archaic terminology and obscurity. Such terms as money, value, price, profits, rent, and the like have been made to lose the pedantry that has been traditionally their cloak. The orthodox economists will shudder at the statement (page 182): "In a fully capitalized society monetary profits, which are the chief goal and excuse for such a society, are a physical and mathematical impossibility." The volume is a conventional and a rather weak plea for the Marxian way.

Fundamentals of Democratic Education, by ROBERT ULICH. New York: American Book Company, 1940, 362 pages.

The author, noted liberal German scholar, at present professor of philosophy of education at Harvard University, in discussing the fundamental principles by which democratic civilization regenerates itself, draws upon certain aspects of sociology, psychology, education, and philosophy in the hope that each may contribute to an explanation of the questions raised in his inquiry.

His first three chapters attempt to answer the questions why, whom, and to what ends do we educate. In the next two he discusses the struggle of the educator with the problem of values and postulates of teaching, while the remainder of the book is devoted to the role of education in connection with society, the state, and religion, and lastly the mission of American education and its part in the future of democracy.

Dr. Ulich's scholarly background and fine understanding of philosophy add greatly to the merit of his book.

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EDITORIAL

Education in the United States has more or less been taken for granted as an experience that is good for every one, a positive factor in normal human nature and social adjustments. Now that the school is the object of scientific study it is revealed as an institution that is not completely integrated as an interactive factor in the social order. Instead, education for the masses is a phase of the social change from an agricultural to an industrial economy that produced an idle teen-age group that once had a useful place in the family economy. Education for the masses is a part of the cultural readjustment, a collective effort being made to reincorporate the adolescent into a useful role in society. This process of integrating an educational system into the social order for the purpose of reinstating the adolescent into a changing society is brought out in the article, "The Education of the Adolescent," by Dr. Edward B Reuter.

Scientific study discloses a social psychological process in education that may lead to personal organization or personal disorganization and shows the need for the school to assume the responsibility for the education of the total person. Unless the school recognizes this responsibility it does not have control over certain important areas of learning. Education is something more than disciplining the mind and producing specialists. It is a process of socialization in which the individual develops mental health or mental ill-health, emotional stability or instability. The article, "The Retrospective

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Act," by Dr. Ellsworth Faris shows how the school may be one factor in producing personal disorganization.

Education is a process of acquiring a world in which to live, a method by which the cultural heritage is passed on to the next generation. The various techniques used throughout a great variety of cultural forms have been made available for comparative purposes through the research efforts of anthropologists. In her article, "Social Change and Cultural Surrogates," Dr. Margaret Mead discusses cultural transmission from generation to generation in different social orders and shows what happens in a nonstatic society where two generations will live in social worlds that are very different from each other.

Those responsible for the training of the child need to understand human nature and need, also, to realize that they are dealing with the total person. In his contribution, "Notes on Child Development and Education," Dr. Reginald Bell discusses the need for understanding the human beings in the educational process and the necessity for turning to social, biological, and psychological sources for scientific data. In order to consider the total person in the educational process there needs to be a broad frame of reference usable in any situation. An adequate frame of reference would be the interactive relationship between the organic heritage, the social heritage, the human nature of the individual and his own unique experience. These factors are always in interaction with each other and no one of them should be neglected with any child in the educational process. In this frame of reference it is possible to consider the human nature the child brings to school, his biological potentialities and other organic factors, the school as a social situation, as well as the unique experience that each child has in giving all these factors meaning.

L. GUY BROWN

THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT

EDWARD B. REUTER
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I

The institutionalized education of the adolescent is a phenomenon of somewhat more sociological interest than might at first appear. It seems to exemplify certain aspects of social and collective behavior, hence to have more than a restricted educational reference; it seems to show quite simply certain processes of social change leading to the formation of institutional structures with their dependent ideologies. And this seems to be true whether education be conceived as vocational training, moral indoctrination, professional preparation, or as occupation with scholarly interests and intellectual problems.

The body of activity specifically concerned with the formal education of the adolescent is very large and deserving of careful attention in its own right and from divergent points of view. In 1930 the number of persons from thirteen to nineteen years of age in the population of the United States was in excess of sixteen million. Of this total, over six million were enrolled in the secondary schools. If the education of the adolescent be defined, as for this purpose it very properly may be, to include the undergraduate college education, the number of students would be increased by over a million and a quarter. To this number must, of course, be added the army of teachers and caretakers detailed for instruction, supervision, and the numerous incidental activities. Obviously, the whole procedure of adolescent education is moderately expensive in time and money: the students and the instructional staff are separated from directly productive activities that might raise the national income or otherwise contribute to the general welfare; it requires a not inconsiderable expenditure of money to furnish the buildings and equipment and to provide for their upkeep and renewal. These

and other things have some sociological interest though they are perhaps of more direct concern from an economic or public point of view. But the consequences on personality development, for example, of the somewhat prolonged quasi-segregation of an age group are matters of immediate and first-rate sociological concern; they are matters worthy of an attention that they have not received.

The sociologist has, of course, no criticism of the education of the adolescent or of any other part or aspect of the educational activity; he does not presume to offer advice to the educator in the performance of his professional functions. His point of view is that of a detached and disinterested observer; he is concerned only to analyze objectively and so to understand the phenomenon observed in more or less fundamental terms. He seeks to identify the factors operating in the social order to produce the results observed.

II

The extension of formal education beyond the childhood years and beyond the bare rudiments of learning is a very recent cultural development. The acceptance of the idea of secondary education for the masses and the growth of the public high school are things that lie within the past half century, chiefly within a single generation. Also, the vogue of general high-school education is still quite local in its distribution: there is little or no pretense of secondary education in the Oriental world, and in the European populations it is the exception rather than the rule. Moreover, in most of the areas where the idea is more or less accepted, instruction at the secondary level is pretty effectively restricted to the children of the specially favored classes.

At most times in the past, there was no obvious need for more than a trifling amount of formal education. The practical arts and skills were acquired incidentally and at early age; the boy or girl in the middle teens was an effective member of the social group. In the simple and relatively homogeneous society, the moral code was

a simple and reasonably uniform body of rules that was learned in the daily contacts and social relations. The body of lore was comparatively small; beyond the proverbs and other such bits of generalized wisdom, knowledge was a monopoly of a special class; it was not an interest or a concern of the members of the group.

At most places in the present, much the same condition prevails as has been the general rule in the past. The practical skills and work techniques are comparatively simple and require no elaborate machinery for their transmission; the moral customs, lying as they do in the sacred substrata of human knowledge, are most effectively transmitted by techniques that do not stimulate the critical and logical faculties— as dicta of superhuman origin or as settled principles inherent in the nature of human life and social order. As a contribution to good citizenship, as the concept is commonly understood, education at the secondary level is hardly a prerequisite and possibly a detriment. Patriotic sentiments, fanatical loyalties, whether to the tribal order or the established government or to the ruling classes, may be stimulated at need, in the present as in earlier times, by the use of verbal and other noises that are for the most part devoid of intellectual content; generally they are effective in a degree that is roughly in negative correlation with fundamental education. The body of science and knowledge has greatly increased but it remains a possession and an interest of a very small fraction of the population; it is at some distance removed from popular comprehension and consumption.

One seeks to understand the growth and vogue and distribution of education at the secondary level in terms of somewhat wide and general applicability. The usual discussion runs, and for the purposes in hand quite rightly, in terms designed, consciously or not, to promote the welfare of the institution and its personnel. It emphasizes the value of secondary education and recites the various personal and social advantages that accrue from the high-school experience—its value as a preparation for adult life in the complex

modern world, its importance in assuring stability in the political organization through raising the level of literacy of the electorate or through a more thorough indoctrination in the essential principles of democracy, its necessity as a preliminary preparation for college life or professional education, its value as a character-building experience, its necessity in the training for vocations, or its usefulness in reaching other personal or social objectives. One does not question the practical wisdom of this order of discussion, nor does one minimize in any way the importance of the ideology; the body of rationalizations that grows up to explain and sustain an institution or other going concern often, perhaps generally, contains various elements of objective validity. But it is possible and possibly useful to approach the body of phenomena from a somewhat different angle.

III

General secondary education seems to have been an incidental development from conditions that were only tenuously at most related to intellectual life and interests. And it seems to persist and flourish in the current order for reasons that are often not emphasized and sometimes entirely overlooked in the sustaining body of doctrine.

In the simpler types of economic organization, the amount of useful work to be done was well-nigh unlimited, in most times and places, the simple business of sustaining individual and group life occupied the time and employed the physical energies of most of the members of the group. The tasks to be performed called for varying degrees of strength and skill. In the American pioneer household, for example, there was no idle time; in the fields and in the house there were always things to be done, the young and the old were continuously occupied during a long day.

Under such conditions each person was, in a reasonably adequate way, integrated into the social life. Each person was a useful member of the society from an early age. All persons participated in the

common life in proportion to capacity; each had duties and each performed tasks that contributed to the common welfare, and each had personal rights and a recognized position and importance. As the child became older and increased in strength and knowledge, and in judgment and dependability, he performed more numerous and more difficult tasks and shared more and more fully in the counsels of the group. There were no sharp age divisions, each shaded into the older and younger. The process of growing from infancy to age in a social sense was as gradual and uneventful as was the gradual and nonepisodic physical transformation of the infant into the adult.

So general has been the pattern of life where children fitted into the family life and economy, performing the tasks and duties for which they were fitted by strength and judgment and progressing by easy stages to the labors and responsibilities of adults, that social organization has tended to recognize but two age groups, children and adults. A more refined division might give also the helpless infants and the extremely old but it would hardly recognize an age group between the children and the adults. There was in general no provision in the culture system for a special adolescent group. The life conditions have seldom called for such a separation, and such a separation has seldom been found.

But somewhat recently an age group between the children and the adults has been pretty clearly differentiated. The transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy, and from a rural to an urban mode of life, changed the traditional age pattern of adjustment. The city home had relatively little useful work to occupy the time of the boy or girl; there were few household tasks, and there was no opportunity to participate in the away-from-home employment of the adults. Even the ancient chore of caring for the younger children in the family shrank to negligible proportions with the restriction in family size. And outside the home there was little employment for the boy or girl; industry in most of its reaches had

little place for the physically and mentally immature persons. A marginal age group tended to grow up in the urban society, a group made up of those beyond early childhood but not yet responsible and employable in the reputable industries. This adolescent age group did not fit into the new economic organization and it did not fit into the traditional conception of society as a group of adults and dependent children.

The formation of a marginal age group in the society, as the tendency to convert it into a group with culturally marginal characteristics, was favored by the widespread prosperity of the middle classes. The conditions of life for large and increasing numbers were relatively easy. Not only were there few jobs for the half-grown boys and girls, there was no dire need, among increasing numbers, for the parents to live on the labor of the children; the income of the father was often adequate to support the family in comfort and idleness. In the situation, parents in large numbers could afford to indulge a sentimental attitude toward children that does not exist elsewhere; the sentimental attitude toward children does not emerge where the conditions of life are hard and the struggle to live is severe.

In a general long-time view, the growth of public secondary education thus appears as a folk adjustment to the cultural creation of an idle age group. There was little place in the developing economy and little provision in the family organization for the adolescent. The extension of education to those beyond the childhood years but not yet ready for productive employment was a means of occupying a period of idle time; the high school came to fill a vacuum produced by the cultural transition. In a somewhat similar way, and perhaps in about an equal degree for the favored economic strata, the college, in addition to its other functions, has been a means of supporting the older adolescents who did not need jobs or who were unable to secure employment. It occupies in a tolerably pleasant manner the interim in a girl's life between awkwardness and matrimony.

In the present scheme of things, high-school activities have in considerable part taken the place of immediately useful work in the life of the adolescent. The transition came about easily and without disorder by the simple extension of school facilities concomitant with the decline in the demand for the labor of adolescent children. The body of rationalization justifying the expanding educational system was an extension of that previously in use.

When seen in the large the complex and complicated body of procedures that make up adolescent education appears as a temporary or early stage in a cultural readjustment. The old cultural equilibrium in which adolescents fitted in a smooth and useful way into both the family structure and the economic order has in a measure broken down. The present economic order has no place for the adolescents and they are hardly any longer an integral part of the family institution. Ultimately, perhaps, a new type of social equilibrium will be reached in which the adolescent will have a secure place and a useful function. But in the present such an equilibrium has not been reached; it has not even been visualized. In the meanwhile, the high-school activity is a sort of tentative and changing form of adjustment, a stopgap procedure in the period of movement toward some new and relatively permanent type of cultural equilibrium.

To conceive of the present system of adolescent education as in any sense a permanent working equilibrium is to misunderstand its character. To conceive of it as a conscious construct or as an intellectual creation is apparently to misunderstand its basic nature. The high-school activity, including the body of ideology that has grown up about the secondary school, is more realistically seen as an essentially nonrational milling of the human herd toward some new type of cultural formation. One does not anticipate that a situation that more or less effectually excludes a large age group from meaningful participation in the culture can be long continued as a form of equilibrium.

IV

The changing character of secondary-school education illustrates very neatly the collective nature of the movement itself. The curricular changes seem to show a milling movement toward a possible stable content.

In the early periods of public high-school education, the curricula were heavily freighted with the conventional prestige items. The dead languages had a large place, political and dynastic history was an important unit, mathematics made a heavy demand on the student's time and energy, and other items like rhetoric and poetry, which were of slight vocational value or even of conspicuous disutility, completed the range of study. This type of content was in some part at least dictated by the required nature of the preparatory-school work. In some part it was an automatic application of old rituals in a new social area. There is little to support a belief that the changing situation was seen in realistic terms, as a ground swell from basic cultural changes in process.

As high-school education became general and the student bodies increased in size, the curricula underwent rapid and radical changes. The preparatory classical curriculum was presently supplemented by an introduction of items of a vocational slant or that had to do at least with the manual arts. These subjects were commonly conceived as being of less educational value and were admitted, often under protest, partly in response to demand and partly as items designed to stimulate student enrollments. These additions served, in turn, to occupy the time of those students who lacked interest in Latin, Greek, and other basic elements of the genuine education. The nonacademic and vocational items increased in number and variety. Cooking, sewing, manual training, agriculture, automobile repairing, typewriting, shorthand, bookkeeping, and numerous other offerings attracted students, pacified taxpayers, and occupied the time of persons not conspicuously talented in an academic way. As a further development various items, still more distantly related

to educational procedures, were introduced to attract and entertain adolescents. The extracurricular provisions and activities—stadia and football fields, coaching staffs, interschool athletic contests, swimming pools, theaters, bands, etc.—in some cases expanded to conspicuous if not dominating positions in the system.

The present status varies from school to school, from system to system, and perhaps from section to section of the country. But in a typical small high school of a hundred or so students, in one section of the country, there will be a faculty consisting, in order of selection and importance, of a football coach, a home-economics teacher, a teacher of agriculture, a teacher of stenography and typewriting, and one or possibly two additional teachers of English, history, language, and such other academic items as still find place in the curriculum. In some cases the football coach and other specialists assist in the academic offerings. From a dominating position in secondary education, the academic interests have declined to a point where they are sometimes barely tolerated.

Stated differently and in more general terms, the high schools in their evolution have become more and more institutions for the segregation and entertainment of an age group that has no secure place or useful function in the modern economy and less and less institutions for the education and intellectual discipline of specially competent or interested persons. The curricula have been expanded and enlarged to accommodate an unselected and redundant segment of the population.

This body of educational activity still accomplishes certain academic work as well as performing the social function of keeping adolescents segregated and occupied. It is still possible, at least in the larger schools, for the interested student to acquire the fund of information and the school credits that will admit him to a liberal-arts college. This is particularly true since the college entrance requirements have been so liberalized as to grant entrance credit for such items as typewriting, music, bookkeeping, and manual training.

as well as for physics, mathematics, English literature, and other educational items of the older tradition and since no particular item or combination of the traditional items is required for college entrance. Something, though something less, can be said for the vocational arts. These studies may direct the adolescent toward a job, but he will have to learn to do the job after employment. The girl may even learn enough shorthand and typewriting to reduce by some weeks the length of the course she will have to take later in a business school if she is to get a secretarial job. The shift toward vocational education does, however, indicate the desire or purpose in going or being sent to high school. Quite obviously, the major emphasis is on jobs and sports, not on intellectual problems and activities. But the great use and value of the high school seems, nevertheless, to be to keep the adolescents out of the way and off the streets and out of the movies for at least a few hours of the day. The importance of this function is not lightly to be overlooked.

V

The opportunistic fumbling that appears to characterize the form and content of adolescent education is not unlike that to be observed somewhat generally in other types of collective behavior. Social change by disturbing the established patterns of adjustment results in a more or less prolonged period of tentative and random behavior. In the short-run view and from the standpoint of the persons immediately concerned, the behavior does not appear either as tentative or random. But this is beside the point; all behavior is purposeful from the point of view of the person acting in the situation. So long as behavior is not directed toward removing the disturbing conditions or toward a social reorganization that will incorporate the new facts in the social order it tends to perpetuate and exaggerate the unrest and disorder. The various movements that rise, flourish, and decay to be followed by other movements and philosophies are perhaps more often indicative of continued maladjustment than of any

clearly progressive movement toward a new type of stable equilibrium. In the absence of a significant relevance for the basic disturbing factors, they do not long endure.

The basic fact in the adolescent situation is the loss of function in the social order; the adolescents do not fit, in any vital way, into the modern social world. The basic need is for reinstatement or re-incorporation of the adolescents into the society. This can scarcely be done by the current types of high-school education; the real problem is one of effecting an institutional reorganization that will provide a place and a function for the adolescent age group and that will give a degree of security and a sense of usefulness that will make possible a modicum of self-respect. The effort of the education, so far as it is vital, is in another direction; it is an effort to fit the adolescent for a later rather than for a present place in the society. The need of the adolescent is for immediate, useful, and responsible participation in the going social order.

It is no criticism of adolescent education to say that it does not function to the immediate needs of the developing persons and that it does not have any very real and vital function in the cultural situation. The somewhat vague general idea of universal high-school education may not be taken seriously as stating a significant objective; this formula realistically understood is a means of covering the fact that there is no genuine objective. The high school has come into vogue largely because there has been no serious competition for the time and energy of adolescents.

Any problem of the adolescent may presently dissolve as a result of some social change that creates place and work for this age group. The adoption, for example, of a system of universal military training would doubtless materially reduce the stagnant pool of idleness that now characterizes the late adolescent years. It would also operate in the same direction by so reducing middle-class prosperity that there would be little possibility of maintaining the present elaborate and expensive type of educational regimen. Or

the extension or elaboration of some such political construct as the Civilian Conservation Corps might absorb into useful public work the segment of the population that is redundant in the present type of economic order. Any such development that would provide useful occupation to adolescents and youth would very materially modify the educational situation by reducing the attendance to only those persons who have some intellectual interest or competence, or who are preparing in a serious and orderly way for some type of professional competence. In the absence of some cultural development that provides socially useful activity for the adolescent age group, the schools will probably continue to provide a sufficiently varied menu to attract a high percentage of the unemployable youth.

THE RETROSPECTIVE ACT

ELLSWORTH FARIS

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I

The teacher in the school is concerned with what the children do. Their work and play, their relations with each other, and the performance of their school tasks are all held to be of importance. Some of the acts of the children involve violent and strenuous exertion, other actions are made with a more moderate use of energy as they move around or handle things, while still other acts consist of writing or talking or thinking. We must include thinking in the class of actions, for what people think is very important and it is clear that when people think they are doing something. Some of the actions of children are, therefore, visible and audible, some are visible but silent, others are audible but not visible, while the acts we call thinking and reflection are neither visible nor audible. Yet all are actions and are the concern of educators.

Acts may, of course, be classified in an indefinite number of ways and any classification may be useful if it serves to clarify human conduct. With respect to the ease of performance, we may suggest briefly another classification in addition to the one above.

1. Immediate acts. To see a pin and pick it up does not usually call for planning or thought. The attitude represented by an interest in pins is aroused by the sight of one and with no check or difficulty the little object is retrieved. Oft-repeated habitual actions tend to fall into this class. Such an act may be said to have a beginning and an end, but no middle, or mediating, phase. It is an immediate act.

2. The delayed act. As defined here, this class of actions may be said to have a beginning, a middle, and an end. It has a middle because there is delay in reaching the end, a delay that requires some adjustment, foresight, or reasoning. The delayed act, as here defined, presents a problem or difficulty and the delay is occasioned

by the necessity of resolving the problem or overcoming the difficulty so that the act can proceed and the end be reached or achieved. For when there is obscurity or uncertainty or difficulty the matter must be thought out. Life is full of these and every one can recall instances. If a traveler finds himself off the road and realizes that he has lost his way, it is necessary to consult maps, recall directions, or seek advice. His conduct cannot immediately go on for he does not know how to go on. This act is also called the reasoned act or the rational act. There are many of these in school and the office of the teacher includes the presenting of problems that the pupils can reason out, care being had that the tasks are within the power of the developing child.

3. A third category is the frustrated act. This is the act that has failed or has been so long delayed that its lateness is equivalent to failure—as a man who arrives at the station but too late for the train. Acts which begin with a purpose in mind or an end in view are finished when the purpose is realized or the end achieved. The frustrated act does not reach the goal. We may say that the frustrated act has a beginning and a middle but no end. This class of actions is very important since in the wake of frustration follow many disorganizing possibilities. The competent teacher will be on the alert to offer wise and prudent help when needed in order that the sense of failure may be avoided and, when this outcome cannot be prevented, to redirect the energies into compensating and ameliorative activities. Unless this is done, results of the most serious nature may be the outcome.

One of these unfavorable results is daydreaming. Of course, a certain amount of anticipatory fantasy is universal and pleasant and may lead to fortunate outcomes and to high and worthy ambitions. But daydreaming may become a habit and the child may dwell on the pleasant emotion of imagined success so persistently that the result is an ineffective personality. Frustration can be shown to be antecedent to this sort of avowed imagining.

Not all frustrations result in daydreaming. Often the child turns to something else, substituting what can be obtained for that which is beyond his reach. When this substituted end is more highly esteemed, it is sometimes called sublimation, but often the substitution is of a lower level. Like Omar, we take the cash and let the credit go. It is indeed necessary to accept the inevitable but in the process a child needs guidance. Substitution as the result of frustration and failure calls for vigilance on the part of teachers.

Aggression may be the result of frustration if the frustration is due to the opposition or interference of another person. And this aggression can be turned against the teacher as an object, as every one knows. And, as every one also knows, this aggressive feeling may not be obvious. It does have its serious aspects, however, and should receive attention, and preventive methods are called for.

There are many other possible outcomes of frustration but one more may be mentioned here. Sometimes there is a confusion of wish and fulfillment with the result that a delusion appears. The wish is father to the thought and what the deluded soul wanted to be and could not, he imagines he is, in spite of the way others treat him. In the institutions for mental disorders can be seen the extreme cases, pathetic patients who imagine that they are presidents or kings or great heroes, because they have failed so miserably in life and have not been able to face the world in which men live. Another and even more serious delusion is called the delusion of persecution which results from a tendency to find excuses for one's own failure in the imagined opposition or hostility of some one else. Extreme cases of dementia in the asylums may be seen, some of them cowed in terror over the plots of imaginary enemies while other cases involve hostility and aggressive rage against those who never did anything against the patient but who are thought, in the delusion, to have been the cause of all the difficulties and lack of success. For every one who is confined to an institution there are perhaps hundreds who have such delusions in a form so mild that serious dis-

organization does not result. The effect is very unfavorable to the personality, however, and they could be nipped in the bud if teachers and parents were possessed of adequate skill and insight. In the mental hygiene of children this matter is of obvious importance.

II

The discussion thus far is introductory to the topic of this article, which is the retrospective act. Other actions have ends or goals to be attained; the retrospective act has for its end the consideration of a former act. We may assume that there is a tendency for every action that is interesting or emotional to return to consciousness in retrospect, to be lived over again in enjoyment, or to be better understood if it is puzzling or annoying or disturbing. It is not the mere frustration of an act which produces any of the results which have been enumerated above. It is only if there is subsequent recall, reflection, and definition of the disturbing event that any final result is to be expected in the developing personality.

While this paper was in preparation the writer and another trained observer recorded careful observations over a period of three weeks of the behavior of a healthy normal infant of eight months. B. could sit alone and could pull himself up into a standing position. His toys would often roll out of the bars of his pen beyond his reach, especially a celluloid ball which was his favorite plaything. Attempts to stand up would often be frustrated when his legs were tangled up the wrong way. Active interference with his actions frequently occurred when he got hold of objects outside, particularly the grass and weeds when his pen was set up on the lawn. Numerous frustrations took place in connection with his feeding and experimental annoyances were introduced in the interest of science. It is to be recorded that the frustrations produced a brief protest, followed promptly by a period of equilibrium and the initiation of another act. B. gave every evidence of a complete lack of hostility, aggression, or resentment. It is the assumption of this paper

that the explanation is to be found in the fact that infants of this age have not acquired a conception of self and that retrospection and recall could not take place.

Whether this interpretation be accepted or not, it is certain that when personality is achieved there is the retrospective tendency. When we are in the presence of our fellows and companions the retrospection takes place in the form of "talking it over" as long as it continues to be interesting or until a solution is arrived at, if the matter has been disturbing. After an exciting ball game or prize fight or drama, friends can be heard discussing the interesting phases and reliving, if only very briefly, what has been enjoyed. If there has been a serious disturbance to the life of the group then there are councils, conferences, and discussions in the effort to make clear what was not clear.

It would doubtless be desirable from the standpoint of mental hygiene if all our retrospective acts took the form of conversation and discussion with our friends and companions. But whether this be true or not, many and perhaps the greater number of these actions are performed alone and in silent thought. In the absence of others to listen, we go over the matter in our own minds. Because those at hand might not understand or might be unsympathetic, we recall the disturbing event without letting any one know what we are doing. Having no one to talk to, we talk to ourselves, and having no one to answer, we answer ourselves, and then find a response to that response and so go on and on, the act recurring over and over if no good way out is found.

It is to George Mead that we are indebted for an understanding of the manner and importance of this solitary activity. In recalling a past unpleasantness, for example, we begin by thinking of what was said to us, recalling the words of the other and our own reply, then the response of the other to what we said, and so on to the end. But sometimes there is no end. There may be left a feeling of injury which should have its proper satisfaction but no way is in sight to

even the matter up. And so the whole process is gone over again and yet again. This we call brooding, and to brood over one's self and the wrongs that have been suffered is to prepare the way for disorganization, sometimes of the most extreme character. To brood over one's self and one's wrongs is sometimes to ripen for the committing of murder or suicide or less tragic deeds.

The "mechanism" of the retrospect lies importantly in the fact that we take the role of the other and it is by taking the role of the other and only by this method that a conception of the self is formed and the attitudes of a personality and character are organized.

For the self, as experienced, is defined by the actions and responses of others, although the actions and reactions, the responses and gestures of the others are not sufficient in and of themselves to produce the result. In order that the actions and responses of others shall affect the personality it is necessary for the self to assume them on his part. The function of the retrospective act lies just here. It is in the rehearsal of the past event that one takes the attitude of another, because he is repeating what the other has said. This is seemingly the reason the infant in the prelinguistic stage does not feel resentment or hold a grudge. Because there is no language, the past cannot be recalled in symbolic ways. When, however, one can talk to one's self and answer his own talk, he necessarily takes the role of the other for no one can talk without being talked to beforehand. The mother tongue is acquired from the mother and all language is a social product. It is only after some one has spoken to me that I can speak to myself. And when I have learned to speak to myself, I have a self and not till then. A self is best defined as a subject which is its own object. One takes an attitude toward one's self. The "me" appears in experience. The very formation of the self is dependent on the retrospective act.

For it is an act. To recall what some one did to you, to rehearse what was said, to decide what it meant and how it is to be regarded, all this, though it may take place when an observer could not detect

the twitching of a muscle nor any one hear the slightest sound, is to be regarded as action just as literally as knocking a home run or spinning a top.

It is in the retrospective act, then, that objects are defined, attitudes formed, personality determined, and character organized. And since many if not most of the retrospective actions of children are performed in silence and relative immobility, the act and its outcome are often inaccessible to the teacher and the parent. But since the importance of this form of activity is so great it would seem that those who have to do with children should consider seriously its importance.

There is an apparent paradox that appears in the cases of delusion and negativism. Although the self is defined by the actions of others and the self is normally a "looking glass self" as Cooley has called it, yet from the insane asylums clear down to the schoolroom there are those who have a conception of themselves at variance with the way in which they are regarded or ever have been regarded. It is suggested here that the explanation may be found in isolation and solitude, when, for any reason, there is a lack of adequate sympathetic social contacts. We all know that it is possible to be very lonely in the midst of many people, if they do not know us or do not like us. Many a child in a large school is very completely isolated. There is no one whom he is "close to." Such an isolated personality will be less likely to discuss his troubles with others than if he had many friends and intimate companions. But he must discuss his troubles and so he discusses them with himself.

Suppose a child has been affronted or insulted and nothing more has been done about it. The solitary one will not talk it over with his friends, thus getting comfort and consolation and, often, a modification of his notion of what has happened. On the contrary, the isolated child will recall the insult and, in all likelihood, rehearse what he might have said and done. This may leave the hurt unhealed and so the matter recurs once more and he again recalls the insult.

And every time he recalls the insult he is taking the role of the insulter and is being hurt afresh. And so it may come to pass that, instead of being insulted once, he has, in the role of the other, insulted himself twenty times, and to be insulted twenty times is far more painful than to be hurt once.

If he has been belittled and an attack made on his self-respect he will normally seek, in the retrospective act, some defense and justification of what he has done or of what he is. If this self-defense and self-justification is rehearsed again and again, the original social definition gives place to the definition he has made of and for himself in the solitude of his too frequent retrospection.

A graduate student who found it difficult to do the work in the keen competition at the university came up for his examinations and failed to pass them. He was profoundly shocked and disappointed and his isolation was marked. He was able to convince himself that the faculty had not been able to understand his excellent presentation of his material and that they were unfair to him for various reasons. He came to consider himself a distinctly superior person intellectually, and, though he had difficulty in holding any one of the several positions which he managed to secure, the result was always due to the incompetence of the administration who did not know how to appreciate an exceptionally gifted man. This pathetic effort to salvage one's self-respect and high opinion of one's self resulted, as often, in a paranoid type of personality. His definition of himself was different from the social definition, the difference being the result of his repeated retrospections in which he came to his own defense against his detractors again and again till he became convinced that he was right and all the world was wrong.

Attitudes are sustained and strengthened by successful repetitions, as a boy keeps alive and growing his interest in baseball or swimming. But in situations that are new, attitudes may be altered or reversed. Unexpected or surprising or puzzling events make objects uncertain that were formerly well understood, and force a reëxami-

nation. This revision and redefinition is the function of the retrospective act. Retrospection is the workshop where the new attitudes are fabricated and the old ones made over. One's whole conception of one's self may be completely revised after such an occasion. A graduate student was invited by a college president to accept an appointment in a college. He had in mind the salary he would ask for, in case the position should be acceptable. The president did not ask him to name a figure but proceeded to offer twice the amount that the student had decided upon. Difficulties arose in the arrangements and the appointment did not go through, but the student revised his estimate of his worth and never thought of himself again as deserving anything less than the surprising stipend which had been offered to him. We get our conception of ourselves from the way others treat us and talk to us.

It would not, perhaps, be necessary to write insistently about the importance of the retrospective act but for the confusion that has been produced by the school of behaviorist psychologists. Although there have been modifications of the extreme statements with which their very vigorous writings formerly abounded, yet even to this day the emphasis on behavior tends to obscure the importance of that which cannot be observed or photographed or recorded. Retrospection of the solitary kind can neither be seen, heard, nor measured. Some writers would consider that, since this is so, we must confine attention to the accessible behavior. But behavior is only part of life. In addition to behavior there is conduct, and conduct is not the same as behavior. We may speak of the behavior of a storm or the behavior of a wild rhinoceros. Men also exhibit mere behavior, as when a man steps on your foot or slips on the ice. But conduct involves behavior with the addition of a judgment on the movements, and this goes deeper than cameras can record.

The importance of the secret springs of action has always been recognized, but the older writers made a sharp distinction between thought and action. Thought and reasoning were in the soul or in

the mind, while action was assumed to be a function of the larger muscles. It is the position of this paper that thought is quite literally a part of action and that retrospection is, in every way, deserving of this classification. It is true that thinking is often the preparation for action but so is the buying of a railway ticket. It is true that thought precedes action and may be said, in some sense, to be the cause of action, but it is also true that action precedes thought and that action may be the cause of thought. It is far better to consider our thinking as one form of action, sometimes indulged in for its own sake, just as we may at times look at a picture or listen to a symphony with no utilitarian purpose. But whether we think for a purpose or merely indulge in a pleasant reverie, the thinking is what we are doing. The thinking is a form of action. And the thinking we do in retrospection is a very important form of action.

Teachers are able to control with approximate success the behavior of children. Where they may go and when, what they say and how they may say it (at least in the classroom) are not too difficult for a skillful teacher to manage. But the retrospective acts are performed in silence and with a closed mouth. Their control must be indirect but such control is very important.

In autobiographies and life histories are to be found in abundance instances of the undesirable and sometimes disastrous results of the silent and unaided misinterpretation which the children make of the actions of their teachers. One adult reported an incident that occurred when he was in the sixth grade. The bell for the ending of the recess period had rung and most of the children had gone in. He, an overgrown and sensitive lad, ran noisily down the hall only to be stopped by a teacher and ordered sternly to go back outside and then to enter in a proper manner. What the teacher had in mind was the desirability of good habits and the proper form of behavior. What the teacher produced, as the incident was recalled again and again, was an attitude of lasting resentment. In the schoolroom the teacher thought he was studying but what he was really doing was

living over the event, growing more and more resentful. The teacher was continually disliked during the two years he remained in the community. When the incident was reported, still further mature retrospection had again altered the attitude and all resentment had long since disappeared. But all will agree that the teacher acted unwisely under the circumstances, either in speaking as he did or in not following it up so that the retrospection might not have such undesired consequences.

Analogous instances are by no means rare and the importance of the effort of the teacher in influencing the behavior after the child recalls it in retrospect should not be minimized. One of the sources of confusion and error is the failure to distinguish accurately between habit as a form of behavior which may be controlled and attitude as a tendency toward a generalized mode of conduct. The habit can often be controlled directly if the child is under observation, but the attitude is formed in the retrospective act and may be the very opposite of what it is desired to inculcate.

It seems quite clear that the most favorable condition for the direct transfer of an attitude from one person to another is what sociologists call the primary group relation, by which is meant a situation in which there is face-to-face association and coöperation and in which the "we feeling" is present. In such a situation the chances of a negative attitude developing from retrospection are at a minimum. This type of relation may be seen in any good kindergarten but is often absent in the later years of the school. The traditional practices involve a whole complex of methods of control which include the assertion of authority, the promulgation of formal orders and rigid rules which in their turn imply commands. And there can be no effective commands without explicit or implied threats, and threats necessitate punishment and penalties. That these do operate to secure order and external conformity cannot be denied but that the results are often disappointing is universally admitted. What the child will think and feel about it, when he brings to mind in retro-

spection the whole incident, is as important as the subsequent observable behavior—some of us think it is much more important.

To place the entire burden of caring for the mental health of children on the school is at once unjust and ineffective. A child has lived several years before the school has seen him. Some of the basic foundation stones of his personality have been already laid down. Moreover the hours spent in the school are hardly one eighth of the total hours in a year, so that outside influences have ample time to undo the best of school influences. Nevertheless, the influence of the school is very great and the opportunity of the teacher is everywhere appreciated. Children may have warped and twisted souls at times in spite of all that the school can do. And yet experience has abundantly shown the possibilities of wise and skillful handling of these problems. Notwithstanding the fact that the school only has a fraction of the day, the children are thinking of school activities much of the time they are at home and in their going and coming. The keen sense of competition which is often so unwisely encouraged by well-meaning teachers has been the cause of much suffering on the part of children and not a little disorganization. A sense of failure on the part of a child is not only a bitter experience for him, it is also a reproach to our knowledge of life and human nature. It is the growing conviction of many specialists that every child, with the exception of the feeble-minded, has some gift or talent which marks him off as slightly superior to others in that one way. Slavish dependence on the ability to manipulate figures and to play with words, which ability is measured by the so-called intelligence tests, will in time, let us hope, be replaced by an appreciation of the unique gifts of each of our children.

The sense of failure eliminated, there remains the problem of isolation. The origin of this may be and usually is quite outside the school but it can receive needed attention by teachers. The greater number of the children will not be in need of any special attention in this regard but for those who do need it there should come wise and

understanding help. The child who suffers from a feeling of isolation may be hard to reach, but he will usually respond with eagerness to the well-considered approach. If the isolation is overcome, the retrospective act is not prevented, for retrospection is universal and normal. But when wrongs or hurts or failures or frustrations are talked over instead of brooded over, a great gain is had.

And it hardly need be insisted that a wise teacher will not be guilty of a rude command or an ironical retort or a sarcastic affront to any child, whether a lonely sufferer from isolation or a highly socialized and friendly pupil. To do so, as already pointed out, may not produce any immediately visible results but in retrospection the teacher may be defined in terms of the bitterest hostility. More probable is the outcome in which the teacher comes to be regarded as a necessary evil, to be watched and "worked," but whose views and opinions have little or no influence. The retrospective act has, in extreme cases, resulted in a determination to run away from the school and never to return. In still rarer cases, the end of the retrospective act has been the determination to attack the teacher. In not a few cases the end is suicide. But usually the worst result is the loss of influence of the teacher at a time when such influence is in the highest degree important and when it should be at its maximum of strength.

The object of this discussion has been to call attention to the unseen and unheard actions of children which follow every interesting and emotional experience and which are determinative of attitudes and of the organization of personality. Those who deal with children may well pay heed to the possible effects of disciplinary treatment which, though they occur in silence and unobserved, represent the actions in which the structure of the character is erected. Not that this is new, however much neglected in recent years. It is with the thought that retrospective actions are deserving of renewed emphasis that these words have been written.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND CULTURAL SURROGATES

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Fifteen years ago students of education talked about the educational process or the educational experience with relatively little attention to the way in which that which was taught was mediated to the growing child. Students of culture—especially students of primitive society—recognized that the most diverse sets of cultural behavior could be transmitted to the growing child with equal success—that a newborn child among the Eskimos became an adult Eskimo, a complete version of Eskimo culture, with the same inevitability that a newborn Hawaiian became a Hawaiian. Among these students of primitive society there was, therefore, a tendency to emphasize the inevitability and complete effectiveness of the transmission of culture to the new generation on the one hand, and on the other, the extreme flexibility of the human organism which was capable of taking on such diverse behavior patterns. There were occasional discussions also of methods of education in which it was pointed out, by a collection of random examples, that children could be hurried and delayed, cuffed or bribed, into becoming adults. And, meanwhile, in Europe and America, the progressive-education movement was growing up, which insisted that our former techniques of formal teaching were all wrong, and that, if the individual child were permitted to unfold amid rich and stimulating surroundings, a new sort of human being and ultimately a new world would develop.

Among these approaches to a discussion of education, there was a sort of discontinuity. If methods were so all important, why did we find that in different primitive cultures one method seemed to work as well as another, and any method produced a fully acculturated adult? There was a missing term in the discussion. It was necessary to shift the emphasis from how does culture A, faced with its new-

born, induct them into being full-fledged members of the society characterized by culture A, to the question of what kind of character structure do these members of culture A have, as adults. Was there not a systematic relationship between the culture forms, the method by which the newborn were inducted into them, and the kind of character structure that individuals so educated would have? Granted that any educational technique would work—in the sense that a group of adults sharing a homogeneous culture would always succeed in imparting it to their children—if we shifted our attention from the accuracy with which the child repeated the behavior of his forebears to the internal mechanisms within the child that permitted him to act, in one case like an Eskimo, in another like a Hottentot, would we not find a significant difference there?

This new emphasis developed out of the interaction of Freudian psychology and the study of the socialization of the child. The Freudian psychologist, concentrating on the mechanisms within the individual, was the first to give a working account of the way in which children, born into Euro-American bourgeois culture of the last fifty years, took on that culture. This was not, of course, the way in which they phrased their accomplishment. They were very slightly conscious of cultural differences and assumed that the mechanisms of cultural transmission which they identified among their well-to-do patients were the mechanisms by which Man became a socialized human being. (It was not until psychoanalysis reached into the clinics, and individuals from contrasting social backgrounds were analyzed, that the first recognition of the different mechanisms characteristic of different cultures—here seen as class mores—began.) Superego formation was the name that they gave to this process of cultural transmission. In its simplest terms this theory stated that in the socialization of the child, the parent, or some individual who stood *in loco parentis*, played a paramount role, and that only as the child took unto itself its conception of the adult behavior as *the* right behavior did the child undergo socializa-

tion. The psychoanalysts then proceeded to explore the mechanisms by which this process was expressed in the character structure of individuals who had been, with various degrees of success, made to undergo it.

The next step in the understanding of the socialization process was not so difficult to take. It was necessary to take over and generalize the psychoanalytic findings so that they would have cross cultural validity; to say in effect, that culture is transmitted to the young organism through the mediation of persons who become the surrogates of the culture into which the child is being inducted. It would then be possible to investigate, as one dimension of the cultural process, the question of who (parent, grandparent, nurse, elder sibling, member of age group, masked dancer, etc.), in the sense of individual in what status relationship to the child, became the mediator of any given aspect of the culture. The recognition of this next step was considerably delayed by two tendencies. (1) The psychoanalyst, assuming that his description of a process characteristic of Euro-American middle-class society in the late nineteenth century must be universal, tended to force other cultures into the same mold—and found in every culture a superego which to all intents and purposes was identical with, although perhaps not as rigid or as exacting as, our own. (2) The anthropologists, on the other hand, impressed by the Freudian formulation, tended to identify the Super-ego with Culture. Both these approaches suffered from insufficient generalization of the premises.

If we, however, do make the necessary generalization, it becomes possible to compare cultures in these terms and ask: How is the culture transmitted, by whom, when, and with what sanctions. This phrasing became an integral section of the Hanover Outline for the study of Human Relations.¹ In this paper, I shall confine myself to a brief cross-cultural discussion of the surrogates of the

¹ This outline was the result of cooperative efforts by a group of representatives of different life sciences working together at Hanover in 1935

culture, the individuals who, in the various cultural settings, mediate the culture to the child. This will provide a background for considering what is happening to the process of cultural transmission in our own society today.

In a "pure case" of the functioning of our own system of cultural transmission, the child at a very early age, soon after learning to talk, begins to take as its model the parent of the same sex. The child accepts the standards of that parent, as stated to the child, as its own, until, in the absence of the parent, the child learns to act *as if* the parent were still there, and to choose and reject courses of action as it conceives the parent would have done. Failure to conform to these standards induces in the individual a retrospective discomfort, which is technically called *guilt* (traditionally referred to by the idea of *conscience*), which is independent of actual discovery by the parent, or any other member of the society. There are certain conditions which are essential to the occurrence of this "pure" type. The adults in the society must think of the child as qualitatively different from themselves, in that the child has not yet attained their moral stature, but is subject to innate impulses, which, if permitted unchecked expression, would eventuate in an adult character different from and morally inferior to that of the parent. Furthermore, the parent, or a surrogate of the parent who acts as if he or she were the parent, must administer the culture prohibitions and admonitions, and must accompany this administration with various sanctions—the threat of punishment or of withdrawal of love and support, etc. The child's fear of the invocation of these sanctions is played upon to enforce the parental standard of behavior. Within such a society, teachers, the clergy, judicial officials, etc., partake of the character of the judging parent who metes out reward to the individual child, or later, adult, who makes a satisfactory approximation to the desired behavior, and punishment to him who does not. A conception of the Deity which sees Him as primarily concerned, like the parent, with moral behavior, and as backing up the

parent in dealing with the potentially immoral child, completes the classical picture.

If we examine other cultures we find very different conditions. The Samoans^a think of children as quantitatively, not qualitatively, different from themselves. The child has not yet developed the ability to behave according to cultural standards—an ability which is conceived of as unfolding in the same way that an ability to carry a tune might develop. Individuals differ in their capacity to develop these abilities, for some, for instance, obedience to those of superior status, a desirable trait, comes hard. They are said to “listen with difficulty” as we might speak of some one who “has no ear for music.” During the years before children have attained to full socialization, they are regarded as somewhat of a nuisance, as likely to shatter the austere dignity of a headman’s council with a shrill cry, or outrage the etiquette of some stately function, by standing upright when convention prescribes that every one should sit. It is necessary to watch them continually and for this rather unimportant task, small girls are selected. It is not their duty to train the infants entrusted to their care, but merely to see that they do not trespass upon adult attention, by outraging the rules of etiquette, or by getting hurt. If the small nurses fail, and the baby does cry within earshot of adults gravely occupied with their own affairs, it is the nurse and not the baby who is punished. A baby who misbehaves, *i. e.*, is noisy, does not conform to the social rules for excretion, grabs promiscuously at the possessions of people of rank, etc., is dragged out of earshot. Children learn, not as our children learn: “If I am to receive reward and escape punishment I must be good” but “If I am

^a Based on my field work in Samoa in 1925–1926. See *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York: William Morrow and Company), 1928. Social Organization of Manu’a, B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin, No. 76, 1930. “The Role of the Individual in Samoan Culture,” J. Roy, Anthropological Institute, London, 58:481–495, and M. Mead, ed., *Cooperation and Competition in Primitive Societies* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company), 1937, chapter on Samoa. F. V. Calverton, and S. D. Schmalhausen, eds., *The New Generation*, chapter on “Adolescence in Primitive and Modern Society.”

to be let alone and allowed to stay where I like, I must keep quiet, sit still, and conform to the rules."

The administrative forms of the society are also congruent with this picture; recalcitrant individuals are expelled from the household, the village, or the status which they have attained, and gods are conceived, on the pattern of the formally occupied adults, as concerned about their own affairs and presiding graciously over the affairs of men as long as men keep quiet and conform to the rules. The whole community is committed to following a way of life, and to the extent to which the child learns to follow it, he is permitted to participate in it. Obviously in such a setting, there is no room for guilt. Transgression and nontransgression are matters of expediency. The ties between parents and children are attenuated by the existence of large households, by the use of child nurses, by the system of household government through which it is the head of the household, whether he be father, uncle, grandfather, or cousin, who has the authority over the children, and by the extension of dependence behavior to a wide group of kin. Adults are regarded as persons who, with varying degrees of facility, follow the cultural forms better than children, and children offer as the alibi for any piece of disapproved behavior the simple statement, *lai titi a'u*, "I am young."

Among the Balinese,* a related but different system of socialization is found. Children are regarded as partaking a little more of heaven than do adults and at the same time as not quite ready to

* Based on field work by G. Bateson, J. Belo, Colin McPhee, K. Mershon, and myself, 1936-1939. For a summary of methods used see M. Mead, "Researches in Bali and New Guinea," translation of the New York Academy of Science, 2: 1-8, 1939, see also T. M. Abel, "Free Designs of Limited Scope as a Personality Index," *Character and Personality*, 7: 50-62, 1938, G. Bateson, "Contribution to the Symposium on the Effects of Frustration," Eleventh Annual Meeting, Eastern Psychological Association, April 5, 1940, mss. G. Bateson, "An Old Temple and a New Myth," *Djawa*, September 1937; J. Belo, "Balinese Children's Drawing," *Djawa*, September 5, 1937, C. McPhee, "Children and Music in Bali," *Djawa*, 6: 1-15, 1938, M. Mead, "Public Opinion Mechanisms among Primitive Peoples," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1: 5-16, July 1937, and "Character Formation in Two South Sea Societies," *Proceedings of the American Neurological Association*, 1940 (in press).

become fully participating members of the community. Whereas in Samoa they are socially ignored and hurried off the scene, in Bali the steps by which the baby, in a series of ceremonies, is inducted into full citizenship in this world—and concomitantly sheds his membership in the other world—are of interest to every one. A six-month-old baby, dressed in silk patterned in gold, put through all the paces of religious ritual, made to pray, to receive holy water, and to waft toward itself the virtue of the offerings, is the center of attention. Before there is any hope of an infant's learning cultural acts, it is put through them again and again, not necessarily by its parents, but by any one, adult or child, who happens to be carrying it. A three-month-old baby is made to act out the rule that nothing must ever be accepted from another with the left hand. Children are carried on the left hip, so that the right hand is pinioned and spontaneous gestures toward an object held out by another are all made with the free left hand. Monotonously, the person carrying the child pulls back the left hand, extracts the right hand, and extends it.

The whole teaching process is symbolized by the method of teaching dancing, the teacher stands or sits behind the pupil and pulls the body into the prescribed postures. At every turn a premium is put upon passive acceptance of others shaping one's behavior into the desired form. If, however, a child departs from this passive acquiescence and begins to act in unacceptable ways, to wander off when its guardians want it to stay near, to wander out into the midst of the actors, or stray toward the altar where the priest is praying, to reach for the property of another, or destroy some fragile object, the guardian—parent, relative, child nurse, or comparative stranger, for children are passed from hand to hand among girls and women, and every one assumes responsibility for keeping them from unacceptable activities—will first pull the child back, casually, without affect, without punishment, merely lift it up, or pull it down from the place where it does not belong to the place where it does. If

it has an object which it should not have, she will replace this object, which she removes, with a substitute. If the child wanders again, or reaches again, the same process is repeated. If, however, the child gets out of hand, runs too far to be pulled back without changing her position, or grabs for the same forbidden object over and over again, she has another resource. She may mimic fear, exclaiming with an exclamation of tense horror: "Caterpillar!" "Centipede!" "Wild cat!" "Faeces!" etc., at the same time imitating all the motor behavior appropriate to fear, so that the child comes running to her, to find reassurance in a terror that is shared with a bigger person. Or, if the object is not to bring the child back from some wandering, but to still its wails or whines in a setting in which such sounds are out of place, the mentor will attempt to call up a pleasanter mood in the child by the recital of pleasurable experience; suggestions about listening to the orchestra or buying cakes or watching a shadow play will be recited with emphasis. These are not necessarily promises that if the child is quiet it will be taken to hear an orchestra or a shadow play, although to the western ear that is the way they sound at first. They are a diverting recital of the pleasures of life, attention to the thought of which may be expected to supersede the mood out of which the child has been wailing. And for display of skill or cultural sophistication, passing the betel box to a visitor, or executing a ritual gesture correctly, the child is given extravagant admiration, "Beh, you are clever, how clever, how very clever!"

From all this the child learns that a pleasant mood and cultural conformity to fixed patterns occur together, and meets any possibility of deviation from that pattern with vague, uncertain distrust. This relaxed dependence upon a known way of life and distrust of all unknown ways is expressed in definite, spacial terms; a Balinese is only relaxed and able to function with easy rhythmic skill when he knows what day it is, where the religious cardinal points are, and the caste and status, phrased as whether they "sit" above or below

him, of every one present. He is deterred from attempting the new or the strange by an unspecific dread which is not placed in any time sequence of rewards and punishments.

Balinese social structure is congruent with this type of character structure. It is a static formal society, in which behavior is prescribed and specific within which individuals function, as it seems to us, motivelessly, tirelessly, in following out endless ritual forms, dedicated to gods who have no personalities, whose names are meaningless abstractions.

Among the Iatmul⁴ of New Guinea a still different system of socialization is pursued. The Iatmul are an upstanding gay people, putting a premium on self-assertion and vigor. Mothers take more care of their babies than they do in Samoa and Bali. The child nurse, although present, plays less of a role; children as soon as they become somewhat independent tag along after elder siblings of the same sex more as appendages than charges. The mother assumes, from the time the infant is able to assert its wants definitely, that the child is possessed of a will and determination similar in kind to her own, and she acts as if the child were as strong as she is. She does not nurse the infant when she thinks it is hungry, any more than an Iatmul adult ever does anything for another adult merely because he thinks the other needs it. Instead she waits until the child has cried and cried hard and made her come across to it before she satisfies its demands. If the child does something to annoy her, she slaps it, an instantaneous quick slap, without any warning. But she is not punishing a young individual who has not yet reached moral stature for being "bad," she is simply slapping another person who has happened to displease her. If children continue to annoy, the

⁴ Based on field work by G. Bateson, 1929-1930, 1932-1933, and by G. Bateson and myself in 1938. See G. Bateson, "The Social Structure of the Iatmul Peoples," *Oceania*, Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4, 1932. *Naven*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), 1936. See also M. Mead, "Researches in Bali and New Guinea," translation of the New York Academy of Science, 2 1-8, 1939; "Public Opinion Mechanisms Among Primitive Peoples," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1 5-16, July 1937, "Character Formation in Two South Sea Societies," *Proceedings of the American Neurological Association*, 1940 (in press)

mother will withhold food from them, and as a routine procedure she does withhold it each day, for an hour or so after she has cooked it. The parents are in control of the necessities of life and the children are not allowed to forget this. So, the small boy who has annoyed his mother by eating up some food she had been saving for another purpose, or who has annoyed his father by setting fire to a neighbor's sago patch and so involving his father in a first-rate quarrel may run away unscathed in the first instance. But hunger will bring him home to his mother and mosquitoes will bring him home within reach of his father who has only to lie in wait beside his mosquito bag. Iatmul children are, on the whole, pretty well behaved, and they are always well behaved in the immediate proximity of a potential slap.

The Iatmul child learns from this treatment: "If I do not assert myself I will get nothing and if I anger other people I will get slapped, and if I temporarily escape from being slapped, hunger and mosquitoes will drive me back again within range of retribution." In such a system there is again no room for guilt. The child merely learns to accommodate himself to a world in which every one is assertive and protectively high-tempered. His safety does not lie, as in Samoa, in looking carefully to the formal setting before he acts, nor, as in Bali, in never venturing outside carefully prescribed paths, nor as in twentieth-century America, in being good and so placating the parent ideal which he has accepted. His safety lies in getting angry first, in asserting his will over against others, before they assert theirs against his.

Iatmul social organization relies on these mechanisms embodied in political forms. The community is made up of a series of patrilineal clans, grouped into moieties. This division is crosscut by a division into initiatory age grades. None of these groups has any means of disciplining its own members, but if an own member offends, it is an outside group, the other moiety, another age grade, in extreme cases another village, which is called in to take punitive

measures against an offender. Even in the disciplining of a wife, a man calls in members of another age grade to reduce her to compliance. The individual and the group are both oriented toward and controlled by external sanctions.

Many forms of cultural transmission as contrasting as these have been described by social anthropologists, and there are undoubtedly many more forms, some actually existing at present, others that have existed in the past or are still potentialities of human beings acting within our historically defined cultural forms. Geoffrey Gorer⁵ has described a type of socialization among the Lepchas of the Himalayas, where the child is continually rewarded by food and casual affection for complete passivity. The North American Indian culture area is distinguished by its reliance upon shame as a principal sanction, and the fact that the parents do not set themselves up as punishing and rewarding surrogates of the culture, but instead continually refer the child to "what people will say," in which fear of social disapproval becomes a principal mechanism, social disapproval enforced by scare dancers, or the licensed joking of relatives, etc.⁶ Another widespread type of character formation is that in which a child of noble birth is told that "people of rank don't do that sort of thing," in which expulsion from the social category of his parents is the sanction, and pride in his own class or caste membership is fostered and used as the sanction as opposed to the fear of the opinion of others.

Seen within this cross-cultural perspective our own superego system of character formation appears as a special and rather complicated development. Very few cultures have attempted the kind

⁵ G. Gorer, *Himalayan Village* (London, Michael Joseph), 1938, M. Mead, "Review of Himalayan Village," *Oceania*, March 1939

⁶ See chapters on the Dakota by J. M. M. Mirsky, the Ojibway by R. Landes, and the Zuni by I. Goldman, in M. Mead, ed., *Cooperation and Competition in Primitive Societies* (New York McGraw-Hill Book Company), 1937, especially the chapter "Interpretive Statement." I am indebted to the ms. of Dr. George Pettitt on "Primitive Education in North America," Dissertation, University of California, for pointing up the way in which joking relationships, "godparents," and punishing supernaturals and the role of mother's brother and father's sister are all aspects of one system, the delegation of discipline outside the immediate family

of explicit internalization of parental standards upon which ours depends. Our system might work quite smoothly in a stable culture which was changing very slowly. For an essential element in the system is that the child is expected to become like the parent, is expected to take the parent as a model for his own life style. In periods of rapid change, and especially when these are accompanied by migrations and political revolutions, this requirement of the system is unattainable. The child will never be, as an adult, a member of the same culture of which his father stands as the representative during his early years.⁷ This introduces a flaw into the working of the system in the ideal form in which we described it above.⁸

Now it is a recognized feature of our society that children soon after starting school begin to substitute the standards of other children for the standards set by their parents. This tendency becomes steadily aggravated until at adolescence it often results in a crisis in parent-child relations. Although this substitution of age-group standards for home standards is often regarded as a phenomenon rooted so deeply in the psychology of maturation as to be inevitable, cross-cultural investigations show that this is not so. In Samoa, the young boys and girls are given increasing status in the community as they reach and pass adolescence, but there is no period when they rebel against the authority of the head of the household and substitute instead a set of counter and antagonistic standards. (This is so in spite of the fact that Samoa tends to educate, during the later years of childhood in age-grade categories, so that children are very much influenced by the way in which group standards

⁷ It is possible that many of the difficulties which are now attributed to too rigid or too strong a superego structure would not result in psychoneurotic manifestations in individuals who lived in a stable society where they had not been faced with such a great discrepancy between the content of the parental ideal and the possibility of living this ideal out in detail in their own lives in the same terms.

⁸ For the discussion of a similar flaw and its implications, see M. Mead, "On the Institutionalized Role of Women and Character Formation," *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, 5: 69-75, 1936.

reflect the average household standard of the community, and children from deviant households become, through this mechanism, more like the average Samoan than like their deviant households.) Because we, like the Samoans, tend to educate children in age-grade terms, to classify behavior, that is, as appropriate for individuals at one stage of development, and inappropriate for those above and below that age, our society has in readiness the age-grade standard to apply to other ends than perpetuation of the *status quo*. And the role we give to parents, that they must pose as better and more complete representatives of their culture than they really are, also exposes growing children to almost inevitable disillusion. Furthermore, the notion that children are different in kind from adults fosters attitudes in children's and adolescents' groups which are qualitatively different from the attitudes of the adults.⁹ If young people bring home expressions of a point of view antagonistic to that of the adults, the adults have a category in which to place it; this is again a display of original sin, not yet eradicated, and contains a threat that the adolescents will turn out badly; that is, express in their adult activities the impulses which the parents have been at such pains to identify and brand during the process of education.

All of these aspects of our method of socialization would not, however, in a stable or very slowly changing society, have the drastic effects that they have under the present conditions of American society, but when the world in which the children already live is a different world from that in which their parents grew up, and when the world in which they will be adults will have a still different pattern, the socializing function of the age group becomes very much intensified. The children who continue to adhere to the standards set up by their parents carry the stigma of being "old-fashioned," "out of date," "prigs," "prudes," or "lacking in social consciousness," depending upon the slant of the group of their

⁹ See R. Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," *Psychiatry*, 1: 161-167, 1938, and M. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York: William Morrow and Company), 1930.

contemporaries among whom their lot is thrown. And the majority of young people respond eagerly to the approval and shrink away from the disapproval of their age mates. When they do so, what are they doing in terms of our original formulation?

The surrogates who carry the cultural standards have changed. They are no longer the parents, omnipotent, and belonging to another order of being, but one's everyday companions with the same strengths and weaknesses as oneself. Their power is transitory; by moving to another town one could escape them altogether, whereas to parents children are bound by inalienable ties. Now by examining the process of character formation among American Indians, and especially among the Zuni where we have particularly good material,¹⁰ we can judge something of the effect in devaluing the self which is developed in individuals who are taught to accept as cultural surrogates individuals who are not highly respected. There is a difference in the positive self-valuation of the individual who is attempting to meet standards represented by remote and highly respected persons, which in a mild way is what happens in Samoa, and the individual who is striving hard to meet the standards of persons who inspire no great respect. Furthermore, in our society age mates are always being adversely criticized by those whom the adolescents still, in spite of themselves, respect enormously, parents and parent surrogates. The rejection of parental standards in favor of late recognized and antagonistic age-grade standards results, therefore, in an attenuation of self-respect and a weakening of the internalized standards of behavior upon which the operation of our culture is still postulated. Shame, the agony of being found wanting and exposed to the disapproval of others, becomes a more prominent sanction behind conduct, than guilt, the fear of not measuring up to the high standard which was represented by the parents.

This shift in the process of socialization has several theoretical

¹⁰ Field work and analysis by Dr. Ruth Benedict and Dr. Ruth Bunzel on socialization mechanisms in Zuni. Personal communications.

implications. It is illustrative of the way in which the process of socialization may alter in response to changes in the culture, in this case to changes in the rate and quality of social change. All adults are to some extent out of touch with the newest patterns of behavior as they most particularly affect the behavior of adolescents. (For example children seldom use in school now the textbooks their parents used; if they do so it is regarded as a sign that the school is an inferior and out-of-date school.) This condition is partly due to rapid change, and partly associated with the circumstance that in America many adults were reared in a different national and often also a different class pattern from that in which their children are growing up. Both circumstances are important contributing factors to this substitution of age-grade standards for parental standards. This shift to a greater dependence upon age-mate surrogates is also profoundly relevant to any plans for guided social change. There has been a great deal of emphasis upon the care that the totalitarian states have taken to bring up a generation in accord with the new standards, but there has been less emphasis upon the way in which a disjunction between parental standards and adolescent standards, already reflecting cultural change and particularly reflecting the break between those who reached maturity before and after the War of 1914, opened the way and made easy such a mass approach to youth. In cultures which, like those of Western Europe, had relied upon the parental standard as the major socializing mechanism, the use of age-grade standards as an element of cultural stability was not highly developed. Furthermore, the effect of a subordination of the self to age-grade standards in the devaluation of the self can give a strong support to mass movements; the quantity of the surrogates replaces their quality, for a single individual or pair of individuals who are highly respected as different in kind and better than the child, is substituted the *number* of age mates who approve and follow a certain course of behavior.

Our historical form of character structure, the character which is sometimes referred to in current shorthand as the Puritan character, had potentialities for the kind of change which those who are involved within it regard as progress, because each fully socialized individual was striving to avoid the self-reproach of failing to realize an unobtainable ideal, the picture of the parent which he had conceived in childhood, and this culturally engendered discontent was an effective stimulus for "progress."¹¹ But historically new aims have had to be integrated with the old ideals, if these aims were to be pursued with the energy derived from the recurrent guilt at falling short. Under such circumstances a continuity of cultural trend was, if not guaranteed, at least made probable. It is this type of character that is invoked by those who believe that because Americans have always stood for democracy, or religious freedom, or some other social ideal, they will always do so. But those who trust to this increasingly rare type of character with its moral emphases are neglecting the enormous and growing prevalence of age-grade standards which are replacing the older sanctions.¹² Parental standards are still, however, because grounded deep in such cultural forms as the biological family, the one-family abode, the responsibility of parents before the law, the habits of training children very young to achieve cleanliness, order, respect for property, and the banishment of the impulse life, part of our early socialization process. When the developing child repudiates them for the age-group standard he

¹¹ I owe my initial recognition of the relationship between this type of character structure and the capacity for creating our type of rapidly changing civilization to conversations with Dr. Erich Fromm. It is of great interest that the Manus native, whose system of character formation is more like our own than that of any primitive on whom we have material (see R. Spitz, "Frühkindliches Erleben und Erwachsenenkultur bei den Primitiven" *Bemerkungen zu Margaret Mead, "Growing up in New Guinea"* *Imago*, 1935, p. 21) takes readily, not only to the very similar values of European civilization, but also to the use and manipulation of machinery.

¹² Contrast the type of personality to whom the presence of others on relief is no mitigation of the fact that they themselves have sunk so low, and the type who accepts the relief status quite easily when the whole community are similarly placed and, in a surprisingly short period of time, act as if they had never known any other way of life.

has in some degree surrendered his sense of moral autonomy for the comfort of a crowd.¹²

Under these circumstances, the standard of the crowd becomes binding upon the individual and the content of that standard is without significance, for in repudiating the early moral standard he repudiated the unconscious insistence on the intrinsic difference between good and bad. Any demagogue can sway crowds so constituted in any direction, provided he can capture the allegiance of enough of them at once.

A demagogue has no such easy task in societies which rely upon sanctions other than a superego of the parent ideal type. Samoa, Bali, Zuni have all been very resistant to and resilient from culture contact with its potentialities for rapid change. It is the anomaly, the discontinuity in our present system of socialization which presents the element of instability.¹³ The young people who stand listening to a demagogue expound doctrines that are in the deepest conflict with all that they have been taught stand there because the others stand there, but they stand there *guiltily*, because they have deserted, for the sake of being in accord with the unrespected crowd, the moral allegiance they gave their parents. And it is this element in their character structure which leaves room for the leader, a parent surrogate who will lift their conformity to the mob onto a higher level again and make them feel less guilty of apostasy toward their own infantile acceptance of their parents' dictated systems of morality. There are no leaders in Samoa, in Bali, or in Zuni, and among the Iatmul a man is acclaimed only as long as he can personally outshout and out-threaten the rest. Those societies are adjusted to different sets of sanctions. Our type of character structure has always left open the way for the leader because he could become a parent

¹² Perhaps another factor in the trend toward age-grade standards should be mentioned. Because of the enormous heterogeneity of our American culture and the resulting discrepancies between different parental standards, individual adolescents have been coming to feel themselves as unbearably unique until the fear of not being "normal" has become almost a type anxiety of our adolescents.

¹³ This sort of disharmony in the social structure A. R. Radcliffe Brown has called *dysnomia*.

surrogate, but only because of this hiatus in allegiance to the parental standards which is the concomitant of such rapid and disjunctive social change, is the way open for *any* leader who advocates *any* doctrine which is accepted by a *large* enough number of people.

The existence of this state of readiness for leadership in the young people of this country represents a potentiality for desirable social change. Some organization will undoubtedly step in and fill the role which the home has been forced to abandon as a standard setting agency. The school could be that organization. If educational leaders became sufficiently aware of the possibilities of using this mass willingness to follow a congenial solution, a willingness which is so characteristic of young people today, and if they were able to enlist young people in the task of creating new patterns of living congruent with the aims of a democratic society, this readiness for any new path might be used in building a more democratic state rather than a less democratic one.

NOTES ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

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It is a cliché—a truism generally recognized—that the major task of education is the facilitation of the growth and development of children. But the implications of that agreed-upon objective for the kind of studies that should be included in the program of teacher preparation and training are not so widely recognized. It seems utterly illogical, with that objective in view, that a first claim upon the teacher-training candidates' time should not be for extensive and intensive study of the nature of the human beings with whom they will deal throughout their professional lives, and of the way those human beings mature and learn.

That is not a simple or small field of study. The body of knowledge related to it is not at present a clearly organized or well-defined subject field. Clues are furnished, basic data are to be found in a wide variety of sources. No student of the problem can afford to disregard the biologists with their findings on organismic development—their descriptions of organic, embryonic growth, development, and beginning behavior; or the physiologists with their knowledge of body function—nerve function, brain function and intelligence, glandular function, emotionality.

Closely allied to them is the clinical group—clinical psychologists, pediatricians, psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers—who brings us abruptly against its conclusion that growth is not solely a matter of the organism, but also of the setting in which the organism finds itself. It is as much the environment—the press of its energies and forces upon the individual, its nutritive and experiential supplies, its social expectancies and demands—as it is the nature of the organism that determines how far and in what direction the individual will grow, what kinds of behavior he will select through which to express himself, in what ways he will satisfy his needs.

Their interpretations receive support from, are accepted and modified by, another important group of students, whose work, fortunately, is increasingly being used in teacher preparation—the sociologists, social-psychologists, cultural anthropologists. The clearest illustrative materials for this group, currently, come from the last named, as they seek to study the effect of cultures and sub-cultures on the personality development of individuals.

Obviously the studies of those in institutes devoted to the direct investigation of child development should not be neglected, though their technical reports on fetal behavior, on skeletal maturation, on body growth, on the development of motor performance, on mental and social growth seem tiresomely specific and only remotely related to school tasks. Pertinence and meaning are being given to these studies more recently by the utilization of the data in case studies that extend over several years of time, as well as by guidance studies running concurrently with the data collection.

Of course, the psychologists of various persuasions have also brought grist to the mill—the students of “original nature,” “individual differences,” and of “learning”; the “mental measurers”; the students of motivation and of the energies of man; the psychoanalysts with their singular insights gained from pathological cases; the gestaltists with their flair for concentrating on total action and reaction, on patterns in the organism’s perception, behavior, and situation in contrast to discrete items of its behavior and reaction. Contributions from all of these cannot be ignored, though—to continue our figure of speech—much that is chaff must be separated out before the kernels are ready for intermixture with the grain from other sources, else our mixed flour will be a sorry conglomeration.

What are the major emphases emerging from these various lines of study which have special pertinence for school workers? What ideas, principles, findings seem to be receiving support from these varied research fields that lead toward an understanding of children, give clues as to how to help them in their none-too-easy task of

growing up healthily and effectively in modern society? A few can be stated with some confidence.

I. CONSIDERATIONS RELATING TO GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

1. The human being is a biological organism, that is, a living energy system, anatomically and physiologically made up of many parts and subsystems functionally interdependent. Its healthy existence and development depend on maintenance of its unity—the smooth, interdependent functioning of bony structure, muscles, glands, and neurological system (5).¹ Any such functioning—though it may be viewed for purposes of study as primarily physical, mental, or emotional—involves the whole organism to a greater or lesser degree (9). The human being cannot be understood in terms of one category, or in terms of a summation of several. When we look at the person in action—functioning—we see physical behavior interrelated with mental activity, inescapably colored by some feeling tone. Each is inextricably involved with the other in a productive, not a summative, way.

2. The individual human being becomes what he becomes through functional reaction with his surroundings. Being an organism, he is constantly absorbing and transforming energy from the physical and social fields around him, assimilating and excreting materials, growing and developing through functional activity in response to the stimuli which impinge upon him or which he seeks and finds. Descriptively, the reason for this functional and formative reactivity of the organism seems to lie in its tendency to maintain its biological integrity, to actualize its potentialities in the face of all but intolerable conditions (9). The surroundings of the organism—more clearly of the human being—have, then, a dual role. On the one hand they stimulate development, call for rich and varied functioning and its consequent growth. On the other hand, if the envi-

¹ See bibliography on page 124

ronment is deficient in stimulus potential, or relatively static rather than dynamic, it provides the limiting conditions of growth. This seems to be true to a greater or lesser degree for all aspects of growth, all traits and qualities of the organism. To be sure, each new human organism has inherent in its germinal organization certain limitations of potential growth; but within these limits the actual growth that takes place is dependent upon environmental factors which provide opportunities for it to function (8).

3. Pattern of growth seems to be genetically determined for the human species; structure and function (behavior) seem to follow an orderly genetic sequence—a maturational schedule—in their emergence (20). An important corollary of this is that effect of special stimulation or specific training varies with the stage of maturation reached by the individual. There is no evidence to show that exercise of an immature action system accelerates the development of that system (21). On the other hand, when the organism is ready to grow, it can be expected to find in its surroundings, if they are rich and varied—physically and socially adequate—what it needs for its growth.

4. Growth is on the whole continuous and gradual. Extreme fluctuations of conditions in the organism (such as the reorganization of endocrine balance at the time of puberty) or in the environment (such as extreme fluctuations between deprivation and enrichment) may bring about spurts or plateaus in the curve of growth. Too, rates of growth differ for different functions within the individual. In line with the genetically determined pattern of growth, there seems to be a carefully organized timing scheme controlling the differential growth rates of the various aspects and traits of the individual. Yet there is evidence accumulating that supports the view that most children grow along many lines synchronously, at an organismic rate unique to the individual.

5. Growth of body and behavior proceed by processes of both

differentiation and integration. Earlier psychologists and biologists tended to describe the formation of complex behavior patterns as the synthesis of smaller units. Recent experimentation in biology and psychology tends to reverse this, showing that, for example, the reflexes which the behaviorist compounded were derived from less particularized and less localized patterns of behavior (14). Purpose—what the organism is about—seems far more determinative of behavior than does the concatenation of reflexes (22). Yet, in the more advanced stages of development, such as the learning of skills, the organism seems to select from its already formed reactions and to reorganize them, to integrate them into new and more complex patterns. The developmental pattern, where behavior is concerned, certainly can proceed either way.

6 The human being, in order to develop healthily, must have certain basic requirements met. These requirements are biosocial in nature, stemming from the biologic nature of the individual; from the physical and social and psychological nature of the surroundings in which he functions; and from the nature of the goals the individual sets for himself as a concomitant of his experience (16). Because the individual is a biological organism, he has certain basic physiological needs: for the chemical materials, the physical conditions, the freedom from infection that will permit normal biochemical and biophysical processes; for opportunities to function in ways appropriate to the dynamic processes of the organism, including maintenance of an appropriate rhythm of activity and rest for the organism as a whole.

But the human being exists not only in a physical universe. His world is also social. In coming into adjustment to it, in realizing his potentialities, he has, or develops, a second category of requirements, which can be called "status" or "relationship" needs: for affection, seemingly essential to basic emotional equilibrium, for belongingness, or security, being valued by others as contributing to group life.

But in addition to living in the physical and social world, the indi-

vidual human being lives in himself and with himself. And this gives rise to a third category of basic requirements of the person which Prescott (16), who has synthesized thinking in this field more completely than any one else, calls "ego or integrative needs." Essentially the category is built around the central assumption that each individual must develop a sense of worthy self-hood, must believe in himself. He must be given a sufficient number and variety of experiences so that he can build an effective understanding of the physical and social world he lives in. He must be brought to see where he himself fits in, has worth and significance as an effective member of the culture and subculture in which he lives.

7 It is obvious that the individual in the satisfaction of his needs is in two senses dependent on his physical and cultural surroundings. In the first place, if they are inadequate to meet his needs—if they deny him adequate food or protection, if they prevent him from maintaining social relationships which give him status and affection, if they do not provide him with successful and satisfying experiences in finding his place in society—he simply cannot develop fully, realize his potentialities. In the second place it is equally obvious that what satisfies especially the last two sets of requirements is dependent on the interaction of a number of factors, chief among which are the individual's maturity level and the culture or subculture in which he lives. The cultural anthropologists have helped our thinking at this point. The expectancies—what a child is loved or valued for or what any individual values himself for—differ tremendously as between two given age groups, for example, or as between two cultures (Pueblo or Dobu for example) (4), or as between two classes in the same culture (lower-lower class and upper-upper class in Negro society for example) (7).

A third and highly significant point should be made here: when these requirements of the individual are not met, his growth is likely to be stunted, or warped, and he himself is apt to become maladjusted—rebellious or apathetic. Destructive, pernicious, or

inadequate purposes are likely to be concomitants of such experiences, rather than constructive, socially acceptable goals.

II. CONSIDERATIONS RELATING TO LEARNING³

I. This emphasis upon purposes leads directly to the first principle of learning to be discussed: *Motive is the basis of learning*. Certain psychologists discussing learning make it synonymous with refinement of goal-directed activity. Some go so far as to make all activity of the organism purposive in that it is an attempt to get from a state of disturbed equilibrium to a state of complacency, restored physiological or psychological equilibrium (17, 9, 8). Be that as it may, practically all experimenters on learning in animals or human beings find purposeful activity far more fruitful and efficient in learning than random, nongoal-centered activity (22). Where the proposed route to the goal can be sensed by the animal or person as relevant to goal attainment, can be seen as meaningful rather than as nonsensical by the human being, energies are released and focused goalward relatively successfully. Modern pedagogy, with its emphasis upon beginning with the learner's current purposes and interests so far as they can be determined, and offering him experiences that have some immediate connection with them, is not only sound common sense but good psychology (10).

Teachers who attempt to use this principle need not abandon wise guidance for a relatively fruitless following of ephemeral interests that their children have at the moment. Rather, they need to think creatively and ingeniously of the possibilities of doing one of two things: either they need to set up situations in which their teaching goals coincide with whatever worth-while purposes their children have; or they need continuously to help their children see the impor-

³In this discussion, the writer is using certain of the principles of learning formulated by Commins (6) in his recent educational psychology, not because his formulation is sounder than that of other students of the topic, but because it supplements admirably the principles of growth outlined in the preceding section, and seems to the writer to have more meaning for the reader thinking in developmental terms than do most of the older formulations of learning principles.

tance and pertinence of projected classroom activities for the attainment of both immediate and long-run goals that the children are developing

In an education that is interested in total, all-round personality development, motivation is the center of the matter. The primary teaching problem is to understand the dynamics—the motivational power sources and their expression—of the *person*. Modern students of the problem cannot, in the face of the infinite variety of human motives and of their contemporary nature, accept too naively the older formulations of a few simplified needs, four fundamental wishes, a list of so-called instincts, an overworked expansion of an all-powerful sex drive, or any combination of these. They admit the historical tie between present attitudes and interests on the one hand, and infantile needs, desires, and motives on the other, but protest that the tie may be mainly historical, and need not be realistically functional. (Murray's (15) discussion of *need*, *press*, and *thema* is of importance for further development of this point, as are Benedict's (4) treatment of patterns of culture, and the Lloyd Warner-Davis approach (7).) Allport (1), following Woodworth's lead, introduces a principle of growth in the motivational field which he terms the *functional autonomy of motives*. "What was entered upon as an instrumental technique becomes a master motive," (1) he concludes as he discusses workmanship as an example of functional autonomy. In the case of the permanent interests of the person, this principle seems highly significant: lasting interests are recurrent sources of discontent, and from their incompleteness they derive forward impetus.

2. The second principle descriptive of learning to be included here is this: *It is the whole organism, the whole individual, that acts, reacts, and learns*. Man is not solely a mental-intellectual being. He is inextricably a unified organism. In his attempt to reach his goal, all powers, skills, energies that seem to him pertinent to attainment of his goal will be utilized. Equally—and conversely—he

receives various impressions, and obtains varied learnings from adjusting to a situation. For example, in a schoolroom he may fail to learn algebraic skills, or only partially learn them, but he may learn very effectively to hate algebra and all that he sees tied up with it—the teacher, mathematics in general, vocations demanding the use of mathematical techniques, and the students who, being apt in mathematics, show up his deficiency. In a baseball game, he may not merely learn certain physical skills, and gain greater insight into an organized game; he may also learn race prejudice, or leadership techniques, or how to cheat, or any one of a score of habits, dispositions, attitudes, or techniques. The earnest teacher almost despairs of predicting what will be the main behavioral residuum for any given pupil from any given experience! And yet, if the teacher knows what the child's purposes really are, how he sees the experience, how he feels about it, there is a fairly good chance of helping him to see in the educative experience some of the value residua which are the teacher's own teaching goals in setting up the teaching-learning situation. (Case studies have perhaps their main significance for the teacher at this point. They help to show the kind of person that comes to school—how the home and culture press upon the child, how his own physical and emotional condition affects his reactions, what his ambitions are or are not, what his abilities and levels of aspiration are (24). All these data are important for the teacher where they throw light upon the dynamics of the child-schoolroom situation.)

3. The third principle to be introduced into this discussion is this: *All situations for the learner are patterned.* Koffka (11) has made a significant contribution to our understanding of human learning by introducing into his discussion of human behavior the concept of the behavioral environment. Neither the child nor the adult is affected by all the facets of his environment. Each has selective awareness in terms of his purposes and experiences. A child of two, for example, is absorbed in playing with his blocks in the family library. His mother is working in the fairly distant kitchen. A tele-

phone rings in the library. To the child, insofar as his behavior goes, nothing has happened. He simply ignores—"doesn't hear"—the phone. But to the mother, geographically thirty feet away, the telephone is a specific stimulus, it propels her into rapid action. It is a part of her behavioral environment. It has meaning, and hence relationship to action. New, immediate goals are aroused, or old ones which have been held in abeyance renewed.

Teachers are all too likely to forget this important differentiation when they expect the specific books, newspapers, and ideas which arouse them to be a part of the behavioral environment of their pupils—to be sensed by their pupils as activities which, if followed, will lead to the solution of the pupils' problems and the attainment of the pupils' goals. The situation simply is not similarly patterned for both the teacher and the pupils. Rather, it is responded to by each in terms of his own past experiences, his own contemporary motives, and his own current dispositions and attitudes. Until the teacher is able to share, to some considerable extent, the mind of the child, to sense the child's pattern, tuition is apt to be relatively sterile. (Incidentally, this is a reversal of much pedagogical thinking of the past, where the burden for understanding was placed on the child. In most teaching in institutions of higher education, the expectancy is still that the student shall labor to understand what the teacher is talking about, rather than that the teacher shall talk in terms that the student will understand.)

A corollary of this general principle is that *all behavior is patterned*. This is simply a recognition of the fact that all human beings with intelligence and memory have the power to see the situation to which they must adjust in terms of their own goal-directionality and in terms of their own past experience. How understandable so-called "abnormal" behavior (stealing, lying, even sex perversion) becomes to the observer, when one knows the goal toward which the "delinquent" is struggling, senses his interpretation of the situation he has to meet, and sees the techniques available to him to meet it! How "normal" it is in his terms! One

of the major problems of education may be just this one of helping children to make their behavior patterns logical, realistic, socially acceptable. Conversely, if the situation itself is paranoiac, and intolerable for the individual, is it not education's province to help to set the situation straight—make it nonparanoiac, and tolerable? (18) The two-way, dynamic nature of all education is clearly indicated. (It seems impossible to the writer to approach the educational problem from the standpoint of clinical psychology, psychiatry, and individual guidance and not recognize the responsibility that educators have for social and economic reform. Without adjustment of the social situation in the interests of individual child health, educators will continue to be defeated before they can start on their growth-facilitation tasks with a large proportion of the child population.)

This emphasis upon the pattern of purpose and meaning that grows out of individual experience throws into bold relief a mandate for those organizing training programs for teachers—the necessity, namely, of including in them far more study and experience of social and cultural situations. The majority of candidates for teaching come from the relatively stable, moral, and experience-limited middle classes of American society. How can they be expected to see the world through the eyes of children who come to them from other classes? The findings of those who have been studying caste and class in American life are perfectly clear: both the values and the methods of training used for behavior training are at important points widely diverse for different social classes. Hence the same experience will be seen and felt in very different terms by an upper-middle class youngster, and by a lower-lower class youngster (7). Yet in our public schools they sit side by side, participate in the same activities, are expected to get the same values from these experiences. And teachers are likely fallaciously to refer the differences in interest, insight, and power displayed by the two to inherited biological characteristics rather than to social conditioning.

4. The fourth principle to be discussed is this: *Learning is a matter of genesis or development.* There is essential continuity to

learning. It may not be a logical continuity. Indeed, the fact of insight—sudden, flashing sensing of relationships between facts, ideas, processes, habits which solve problems instantaneously—demonstrates again and again that some children need not tread the long, logical, step-by-step routine which pedagogues have so often thought essential. And yet there is always something preexisting out of which the learned act emerges. "Learning," says Ellis Freeman, "is not an addition at all, but a modification in the direction of refinement, precision, and elaboration of function." In no sense are facts, ideas, and content to be dispensed with in our educational curriculum. Children cannot learn in a vacuum. In fact, if learning arises, as it seems to, from the "continuous activity by which the organism comes into adjustment with its world," learning will depend upon the extent to which the organism is able to be richly and vigorously active. If the environment, including the school, supplies opportunities only for meager routine activity, learning will be thereby restricted. If it provides opportunities and stimuli for varied endeavor, learning will be commensurately more extensive.

McConnell gives a corollary of the principle of continuity of growth which is especially important for the student of mental development. He says: "*Although traits grow at different rates, and reach their maximum at different times, simultaneous, rather than serial development of broad mental functions is the rule.*" (13.40) In support, he discusses the development of problem-solving ability, once thought to be a capacity that did not appear until early adolescence, and cites Alper's (2) study of preschool children's "reasonable" (insightful) attack upon problem situations. On his level of development, the child is capable of rational behavior. Quite far-reaching reorganization of the general school curricula may be justified if this corollary is acceptable. No longer will it be thought that curricula should differ in *kind* for different school levels—fact and process drill for the lower-elementary school, problem consideration for the upper-elementary and secondary school. Rather,

they will differ in *degree* of complexity and in form of presentation. A basic criterion for placement of experience is its reality for the child at his level of development.

It was stated earlier that there is a maturational schedule in the growth pattern of individual children, that structure and function tend to follow an orderly genetic sequence in their emergence. What significance has this for the student of general development? Is there a sequence of school activities dictated by this maturational schedule? Allport's thinking on the meaning of maturation for personality development is typical of the kind of thinking that the more insightful psychologists are doing on the problem. He makes these observations (1:149-150):

If, in line with available evidence, the process of maturation is regarded as limited to the general ripening of somatic and nervous structures, and to the ripening of a few rather specific locomotor and vocal functions, it cannot be regarded as one of the *direct* fashioners of personality. . . . A man's personality and career are not due primarily to what ripens within him but to the manner in which he lays hold of these maturing functions and incorporates them into what he has already learned. . . .

Maturation contributes to the development of personality by bringing out every inherited feature. . . . They (these maturational features) contribute to the formation of personal dispositions, but their influence must be combined with the demands made by the environment upon the individual. Goals and purposes are not inherited, unless one grants that vague primordial need-to-live. Special interests and so-called instincts develop, as do traits and attitudes, through the many-sided effort of the individual to find a balanced position for himself in the world he has to live in. Maturation presents him with new internal situations to which he must adjust; but excepting at a rudimentary motor level it does not provide him with ready-made instruments for the task.

Similarly in other fields more specialized than that of personality development, the fact of maturation seems to point to the importance of teachers' planning with the end in view of helping pupils to use their maturing powers to come to grips with their varied worlds,

rather than to a regimented sequence of school activities neatly fitted to the average maturational schedule of their classes—a quite meaningless concept for those interested in individual education.

A second descriptive corollary to the genetic principle is this. *Learning proceeds by differentiation and integration.* Just as in the general growth field earlier explanations of development were in terms of the synthesis or integration of smaller elements, so it was in the learning field. Phenomena of transfer of training were interpreted in these terms. School programs were built up on the assumption that childhood education should be devoted to the memorizing of facts, techniques, skills—all isolated, more or less—which the individual would later pull together in a meaningful whole. But just as in the general field of thinking about general development, new emphasis began to be placed on the principle of differentiation, so a similar emphasis began to emerge in psychological descriptions of learning. The child or animal was seen to develop broad patterns of orientation to the whole situation first, detailed knowledge of selected parts later.

But even though particularized behavior and thought ordinarily arise in this way, yet it is obvious that after these responses have emerged, the organism has power to integrate them into new and more complex patterns. Especially does this seem to be the case in the more advanced stages of learning. Many acts of skill seem to involve the election of already formed reactions and their reorganization, perhaps with other responses, into new ones. In the same way, the development of concepts—ideas and their relationships—while it may often include refinement of ideas (individuation) within a broad classification already determined upon, may also demand reaching out for and including within the classification items not previously seen by the individual as related to the classification at all (integration).

5. The final principle to be stated here is a summary principle. *Learning comes about essentially through a reorganization of ex-*

perience and behavior. In a sense this "principle" is a definition. Learning is essentially reorganization of experience and earlier patterns of behavior in terms of adjustment to new conditions which confront the individual. All of the discussion that precedes is both background and documentation of this principle. One additional generalization may be made: Human learning is immensely facilitated by the meaningful symbolization of experience. An illustration will throw light on the two emphases of that observation—an emphasis upon experience and an emphasis upon symbolization. A teacher in a one-room school, in which there were children ranging in grade level from beginners to those almost ready to graduate from the eighth grade, found her little children insisting on having the same spelling lists and reading vocabulary additions as her eighth graders used. The two words "evaporation" and "crystallization" came into these lists. The little children at first found them impossible to spell or recognize. After a period of difficulty, she hit upon the expedient of showing, experimentally, what they meant. The class made fudge together. Her testimony is that after they had seen evaporation, and seen and felt crystallization actually taking place, they had no difficulty in recognizing the words, and relatively little in spelling them! The symbols of their own experience had meaning for them, were not difficult to learn. Until the symbols actually summed up—stood for—their own experiences, they were nonsense syllables, with all the difficulty in learning that nonsense syllables have been shown to have in contrast to meaningful materials. The meaning of the principle and its codicil should be clear to teachers in terms of their own experience, and in terms of a developed awareness of the varied experience that their children have

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BOOK REVIEWS

Frontier Doctor, by URLING C. COE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, 264 pages

This little volume is a simply written document of social change as viewed by a rural practitioner in the far west. Dr. Coe enters a lumber region ahead of the railroad. He grows and develops correlatively with his country. As the narrative develops so do facilities. Ingenuity is this physician's most valued adjunct and obstacles seem only as inspirations.

The volume is a fine document illustrative of the sociology behind medical practice and with the picturesque setting of Dr. Coe's story there is not a dull moment. Perhaps its chief asset is the simplicity of style used which is clear, concise, and direct, giving the entire narrative a decided air of verisimilitude. Some of the best sellers written by physicians do not merit this attribute. A thoroughly worth-while contribution is this book and it should be both a best seller as well as an excellent social document of Americana.

Living, by THURMAN B. RICE. New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1940, 463 pages, illustrated.

Living is designed as a textbook and its writing combines three great virtues: conciseness, interesting approach, and sound biological science. The author has most admirably connected a technical subject to problems of present-day American life. These problems are presented in a practical way which gives us an insight into the sociology of health, personal and community.

It is admirable to see a text on health handle the problem of sex hygiene in such a clean, frank, dignified yet practical manner. The same frankness is to be found in the discussion of tobacco and alcohol. By its many merits this book deserves a large reading public who cannot help but be benefited by its precepts.

American Democratic Thought, by GABRIEL. New York: Ronald Press Company, 1940, 466 pages.

It is gratifying to apply to Gabriel's book adjectives which so few contemporary books merit—excellent and scholarly.

The book is a sort of compendium of social thought that grew out

of the economic background of American life. Throughout the entire volume the influence of the social environment upon the political thought of the new Republic is emphasized. The text is admirably illuminated by quotation of passages from the writings on social and political thought. No less valuable are Dr. Gabriel's analyses of these passages.

Specially illuminating is the latter part of the book which touches the contemporary.

In few recent books have as much fine scholarship, excellence in style, and elegance of expression been in evidence. Despite the technicality of its subject the entire cause is so admirably handled that the reader maintains his interest and hopes for another volume from this capable author.

History and Science: a Study of the Relation of Historical and Theoretical Knowledge, by HUGH MILLER. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1939, x + 201 pages.

The subtitle sets forth in effective fashion the theme of Professor Miller's book. In this survey of the relation between these knowledges he points out how necessary the one is to the other and disposes of many of the ideas prevalent as to the place and contribution of theoretical knowledge to scientific investigation. "Theory and history are everywhere two complementary approaches to natural knowledge. . . Theory concentrates upon the more constant structure of fact. History concentrates upon the evolutionary progress of nature" (p vii). The author treats his theme historically, tracing this relation from the days of the ancient Greek thinkers to the present, pointing out the epoch-making effect of Darwin's theory of evolution on all scientific knowledge. He demonstrates the close relationship existing between the various social sciences and their debt to biological science. It is a challenging and penetrating study of particular interest to the student of the social sciences. The book is divided into three parts each preceded by an introduction. In separate chapters the author points out the relation between history and physical science, history and philosophy, and history and religion. He shows the weakness of dialectical materialism and also scores the reliance placed upon mathematical formulae and philosophical systems in the quest for ultimate truth. The book closes with an analysis of the intellectual basis of democracy, and in the final chapter on the Idea of Progress the author insists "that the eighteenth century was not altogether mistaken . . . when it defined progress

as a law of nature" (p. 194). "Faith in the goodness of things is the nerve of progress because it is the condition of all continuance and existence" (p. 193).

In Old Southampton, by ABIGAIL FITHIAN HALSEY, with a foreword by Nicholas Murray Butler. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, 144 pages.

This book by a descendant of one of the original settlers is a continuation of the work of the author's sister who was historian of the town from 1923 to 1932. The "stories," as they are characterized, describe the founding of the settlement and such aspects of its life in Colonial days as the streets, the early church, the laws, and schools. Taken together they present an interesting picture of the activities of the early settlers. The identification of many of the points of interest with the present divisions of Long Island is made easy by map, text, and pictorial illustration. The influence of the larger divisions of which Southampton was a part may be readily grasped as well as the extent to which Southampton history mirrors the life of early America.

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EDITORIAL

As this editorial is being written, the ominous clouds of war are rolling in upon us across the broad Pacific and the narrower Atlantic. A defense program, too long delayed, is speeding into high gear as the Congress approves a supplementary defense measure of a billion and a half dollars, bringing the total appropriated in this session to twelve billion, not including the more than four billion for a two-ocean navy. And we are told further huge appropriations will be necessary!

The reality of the danger was even more vividly brought home to us in the recent recommendations of the Secretary of War regarding air-raid precautions. He advised manufacturers constructing new industrial plants for vital defense materials to select sites where the terrain would afford protection from air attacks, to bombproof essential communication lines and storage facilities, and to equip all new buildings with means for a complete blackout without interrupting production. Plans have been submitted for construction of air-raid shelters for the civilian population. The past no longer gives direction to the present as sixteen million men register for service, of whom almost a million will swell the standing army to more than two million.

Peace for the Americas is in the balance as at no time since 1917!

At such a time, it seems almost futile to continue the publication

of articles not specifically related to the one pressing problem of every American: Can we avoid being sucked into the hideous maelstrom of war and maintain our national honor?

It is, however, at just such a time more than at any other that sanity and calm judgment are essential; that we need to face realistically those aspects of our internal life which tend to foster division and abet antagonisms; that we need to reappraise the means for the development of integrated personality; and that we should reevaluate the entire educational program that both youth and adults may be imbued with a deep and abiding conviction that democracy is more than a theory, that it is, rather, a vital, living reality seeking ever the common good of all in a free society of free men.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published monthly from September to May, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1940

State of New York
County of New York ss

Before me, a Notary In and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared E. George Payne, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations.

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E. GEORGE PAYNE, Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of September 1940

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My commission expires March 30, 1942

ASSIMILATION AND THE MINORITY PROBLEM

GERHART H. SAENGER

Our troubled times have left only rare spots where a person is taken for what he is, welcomed with all his peculiarities, his religious and his national characteristics. Elsewhere, wherever we turn, we hear the cry for national, racial, or cultural unity. The demand of the hour is to conform or to die. Men and women in all countries, with gradual but significant differences between the dictatorships and the democracies, are judged no longer for their value as individuals but according to their ability to conform with the ways of the majority or the dominant group in their respective homes. Those who happen to be different in their language, the color of their skin, the form of their heads, in their behavior, or religion are taken as potential or real enemies. There is also a belief, or at least a suspicion, that such differences in people are accompanied by essential differences in character and intelligence which make it difficult, if not impossible, for such "outsiders" to conform. In fact, their very existence may be regarded as a threat to the welfare of the group with whom fate has placed them. Such beliefs, discredited again and again by serious scientists, are by no means a product of our turbulent times. They are always latent, and only intensified during periods of great unrest.

The psychologist and the social scientist have to reckon with this fact. It is useless to point to the essential equality of all men, to assume tolerance and the enjoyment rather than the fear of difference, and that personality is a product of education. In times of stress we do not act rationally. We search for emotional security. Our fears react against that which is strange, incomprehensible, and therefore dangerous. In the middle ages, the populace, scourged by famine and pestilence, burned witches. In our time, when economic troubles and war press on us, we turn against minorities. But as the burning of witches solved nothing, neither can the suppression of minorities

bring about peace and economic stability. Our problem is then how can this minority question be solved as far as human nature is concerned?

The simplest way of dealing with a minority might be to exterminate it altogether, a practice not unknown in ancient and modern times. Such a solution is based on the belief that the minority cannot be assimilated, or is an obstacle in the path of the majority, which has the conviction that the culture of its victims is inferior and not worthy of existence.

Others believe that where people of different origins live together they should attempt to form a common culture. New arrivals should strive to conform to the social pattern already established, making their own contribution to it. Another word for this process is the "melting pot." There are, particularly in the United States, many who think that the second solution of the minority problem would be the most ideal.

Still others believe, on the contrary, that every culture has a right to exist and that as many cultural forms as possible should be preserved. As variety is the spice of life, all cultures should be preserved and work in common. The author will not disagree with this ideal. But as a psychologist, he has considerable doubt as to whether it is practicable.

Consider, for example, the way in which we choose our friends, with what groups we mingle, which groups we shun. As children our friends are those boys or girls who go with us to school or church, whose parents know our parents, who live around the corner. Already at this age a selection in our acquaintances is made, as our parents will probably know people who have the same interests and perhaps come from the same place. They may admonish us not to play with certain children and in a subtle way impress on us their own choice and prejudices.

As life goes on, the influences of parents, church, school, of common interests, and growing prejudices will make for the formation of groups who share certain common factors. Within all these

groups strong ties will be formed, and people judged according to their conformity with the standards of the "we" group. We consider ourselves the "right people" and learn to conceive of our ways as the "correct and right" way to live.

We love that which we know; the unfamiliar puts us into a world of latent fears and surprises. The person who is different is known to us only in so far as he is different. We are not familiar with his struggle and do not feel with him. Moreover, in the conviction of our own standards, manners, and behavior, we experience him as a deviation from something which we regard as essentially right. A person who is dressed differently may induce the remark that he looks like a Bohemian or a criminal.

In times of political and social unrest the "different" group becomes the focal point of criticism and attack. The vast complexity of modern life makes it more difficult for many of us to understand the causes of prosperity and depression. Growing specialization confines us to a small segment of life, part of a great economic structure which we do not understand. Our most pressing problem is insecurity and the suspicion that somebody must be responsible for those things which work against us. We cling to our familiar associations and soon grow to blame the stranger.

For the American in the latter part of the nineteenth century, especially, an immigrant from Italy or Ireland who worked for lower wages was the danger. As no one knew the employer who exploited the ignorance of the newcomers, it did not take long to identify the man who spoiled wages with the immigrant and the immigrant with the Italian or Irishman. Those who suffered from economic competition thus learned to hate the intruder whom they identified by his looks and his language. A similar phenomenon can be observed in present-day Harlem, where race hatred against the Jews develops as they are frequently the agents who collect the rent and thus seem to exploit the people. The man who owns the house and who holds the mortgage very seldom comes into the picture.

Such condemnation is never made if we are in close contact and

on familiar terms with individuals of a certain group. We may be convinced that Mr. Smith living in our street and belonging to the same church is a crook, but only if there is sufficient evidence. We have known him all our life, we went to school with him, his children play with our children. If he failed and committed a crime, we would be sure that only exceptional circumstances drove him to it. He is an exception and not the rule.

This certainly is different in regard to members of groups unfamiliar to us. If they are failures, we are only too ready to generalize. Attacks on individual Catholics, Jews, Irish, Negroes are usually based on evidence which we "saw with our own eyes." The misbehavior of one individual is then enough to condemn the whole group. After the generalization condemning the minority has been made, it is a natural consequence and tendency, interpreted almost as an act of self-preservation, to exclude them. A superficial deviation from what we regard as normal will be exaggerated to the status of a danger or a threat. The Negro who attacked a white woman is assumed to be typical of all Negroes. The white man who attacked a Negro woman is considered only an exceptional and rare criminal.

This tendency to generalize, to make distinct groups the object of antagonistic feelings on the basis of one or two objectionable examples is an unfortunate, but deep-seated habit in the large majority of people. It is this which renders the living together of different cultural groups so difficult. Wherein lies a solution?

A basic solution, which would eliminate the constantly reoccurring conflicts and misunderstandings, must be found in a process of assimilation or gradual merging of the groups into a homogeneous society. However, numerous obstacles to assimilation are presented just by the same social and economic situation which calls for assimilation.

The success of assimilation depends upon the existence of a certain spirit of cooperation and open-mindedness in the community,

which more often than not is lacking to a considerable degree. To give some rather trivial examples of obstacles to such a spirit on the emotional plane: A school teacher who has been educated in New England standards of decorum will reprimand an Italian child for his high spirits and an Irish boy for his pugnaciousness by pointing out that, "Nice people don't act that way, you should give up your 'foreign' manners." Here, the parents are implicitly criticized and will inevitably take exception to the teacher's discipline, while the child will be torn between two opposing authorities.

Such a situation is common enough where children are concerned. If a child repeatedly reprimanded for bad habits is made to feel inferior and unwelcome by his parents until his behavior is improved, the same problem arises within the family. The child will become strongly antagonistic toward us, if at the same time little is done to correct him in a constructive and sympathetic way. He will tend to persist in his own conduct and seek the company of similarly treated children in the neighborhood. He may also become aggressive, tend to defend himself. Children so treated will not only hate their parents, but everything they stand for. The parents in their turn will finally become convinced that their child is incorrigible, in short, a problem child.

This is precisely the situation which faces mature members of a minority group who, in a sense, is the "problem child" of society. Frequently, they are not taught the customs of the dominant group in a sympathetic way, but are criticized and insulted for their inability to be like the crowd. Their inevitable discomfiture and the consequent emergence of defense reactions lead to further accusations of aggressiveness, sullenness, obstinacy, and inability to adjust.

In this way, an open attack on the minority usually creates a violent reaction and increases the internal cohesion and the consequent isolation of the minority group. The strong discrimination against Dutch Protestants in the Renaissance led to their adoption of the discriminating term *Geuse* as an honorable title and to a dis-

trust and hostility against everybody who was Catholic. The result of discrimination is thus a reassurance of the minority and leads to a definite disinclination on their part to adopt the ways of the majority. It leads to stronger group solidarity and self-appreciation, forces which work against assimilation. The French Negro who is not discriminated against is much more assimilated than the American Negro. South America, where race discrimination, whether on social or economic grounds, is much less pronounced than in the United States is much nearer the state of the "melting pot."

Assimilation depends also on the lessening of economic discrimination. In a society which works under the ideal of free competition an additional obstacle lies in the way of the minority competitor. He has to work harder in order to achieve the same degree of security and must therefore know more and be more efficient. As a result, he may be called thrifty, overambitious, greedy, intellectual, ruthless, or aggressive. This accusation is aggravated where the minority member may be tempted to use dishonest means in order to meet competition. The average person will notice the facts but not the reasons. From the minority point of view the usage of such means may be a matter of survival, the necessity to feed his family, and may be interpreted as a vindication against ruthless discrimination and oppression.

The Negro, Italian, Jew, or Chinese who does not get a certain job because of his race or religion will seldom respect the people who reject him. He may identify such folk with the dominating political system, in which case his objections will take the form of revolutionary thought and activity. Hence the notion arises that members of minority groups are more subject to fascist or communistic beliefs than others.

Discrimination against individuals or groups may lead to inferiority feelings which are then overcompensated for by a feeling of importance and superiority. The office clerk who during the whole day follows orders may be an almost unbearable tyrant at home. The

man who was a failure all his life and was maltreated by everybody becomes the paranoic who believes he is Napoleon. This feeling, however, is never complete; the conviction of superiority is never genuine but more or less consciously mixed with a tinge of the old inferiority which is constantly suppressed. Napoleon was not offended if somebody questioned his competence and superiority. The pseudo-Napoleons in our mental asylums are exceedingly sensitive to any intrusion or doubt of their superiority.

This relation repeats itself frequently in the social intercourse between members of majorities and minorities. The conviction of the superiority or equality of the minority member is a defensive attitude, highly vulnerable. Within a society which attaches different prestige values to different vocations this often leads to a compulsive drive on the part of the discriminated individuals to get into the positions which have most prestige. Contrary to ordinary behavior, a vocation will then not be chosen for its own sake alone but as a means of asserting one's own superiority.

We finally have to emphasize that the lessening of business discrimination is not enough to achieve assimilation. As long as we read in American newspapers the term "restricted residential area," as long as Negroes have to live in certain quarters of the town, and clubs all over the world exclude members of certain races and religions, assimilation will be difficult. Men are gregarious and crave for company. Excluded here or there, they will stick together for mutual support in the search of a friendly atmosphere. As long as people build social barriers into their lives assimilation will be slow. Yet, in a world of barriers and competition, ruled by propaganda and emotions rather than facts and reason, assimilation seems the only if second best solution to the minority problem. And there must be a solution—as the conflict cannot continue without human wastage and economic chaos for all parties concerned. Assimilation can only proceed by proper education—of the majority as well as of the minority. We have to learn why the individual in distress

acts as he does, to look behind his seemingly strange behavior. We must view the acts of the member of a minority in terms of his own culture—often confused by adjustments and obstacles which are beyond our imagination to understand.

The United States with its amazing variety of creeds and nationalities, races and religions can continue to function as a democracy only if this problem receives constant and intelligent attention. With a shrinking economic sphere and the continued threat to security from within and without the strains will be greater. Minority groups need not and must not be the modern "witches of Salem."

THE TEACHING OF DEMOCRACY

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One of the larger cities of the country has recently installed a new superintendent of schools. The first public demand made upon him was to teach democracy in the schools. The demand was made in much the same spirit that a group might demand that modeling clay be introduced into the primary grades. Apparently all the superintendent had to do was to order a carload of democracy and see that it was distributed to the schools for use on the opening day.

The teaching of democracy presents five major aspects:

1. Teaching about democracy—what it is, how it operates, how it compares with other systems, particularly totalitarianism
2. Developing the character traits and ideals necessary to the growth of a truly democratic society.
3. Modifying the administration, classroom procedure, and curriculum so as to make for a more democratic spirit in the schools.
4. Development of leadership—possibly on the part of the school, for influencing the community controls which have an educational influence. The school cannot effectively teach democracy unless the out-of-school controls are influenced in that direction.
5. Social research to keep the schools and the public informed of facts so as to combat propaganda and give the teachers and pupils a reliable source of information.

While I shall discuss these as separate items, I recognize that they are so interrelated as to be interdependent and that one cannot develop without like development on the part of the others.

TEACHING ABOUT DEMOCRACY

Teaching about democracy should really occur after democracy has been practised for many years, after traits and ideals consistent with democracy have been developed. The danger and ineffective-

ness of trying to set up an intellectual ideal first and then developing activities consistent with it, instead of developing the activities and then establishing the ideal, is discussed more in traits and ideals.

Student councils, self-governing clubs, straw votes, etc., are legitimate tools for the teaching of the forms of democracy. Very few schools have been able to use these to their fullest possibilities because of the autocratic setup of the school system. The school is not permitted to help students make mistakes. The public would never understand that it takes a wiser administrator to help children make and correct mistakes than it does to prevent children from making mistakes. With the setup discussed in the section on modifying the school these tools would become much more effective.

The relationship of democracy as a political system and democracy as a philosophy of life must be established. At the present time too much of the schools' time is devoted to the forms of a democratic state to the exclusion of the spirit of a democratic society. Teachers cannot develop a conviction for democracy by words alone; they must make it a part of themselves and of the atmosphere of the classroom. They must understand that democracy is social control in which the good of the individual and of the group or state progress simultaneously; totalitarianism is personal control subordinating the individual to the state.

DEVELOPING TRAITS AND IDEALS CONSISTENT WITH DEMOCRACY

Democracy as a way of life is based upon the day-to-day activities of the people, not upon the lip service they render to stereotypes. Most "moral teaching" or "character education" has put the cart before the horse. In most cases it has been started with certain ideals which through stories, biographies, games, and other devices the teacher has attempted to get "into the minds" of the pupils. Instead, character education should start with activities which are a part of democratic living, developing these activities into habits, emotionalizing them into traits, and integrating them into ideals.

In the following article by H. S. Tuttle, "Prescription for Integrity," the psychological basis for the development of character has been analyzed in its progressive stages: activities, traits, ideals.

Sociologically, I would thus state the development of ideals: In the home and neighborhood the child is surrounded with physical and mental stimuli to which he is constantly reacting. These reactions are developing into habits and taking on emotional connotations which are changing them into traits. Through the home discussion of the neighborhood scandal, fathers' industrial problems, brothers' school problems; through discussions on the corner and on the lot, these traits are being consolidated into ideals. The child comes to school with these *ideals* and is presented with a set of ready-made *ideas* which are at variance with them. The ideals are his, the ideas belong to the school. Ideals can only be changed by changing the activities, mental or physical, and the accompanying emotions and then the ideals themselves.

For the school to do this effectively without systematically influencing the out-of-school habit-forming agencies is well-nigh impossible. The school can develop certain desirable habits and, through story and biography, extend them vicariously and then integrate them into an "intellectual ideal." The chances for their carry-over to out-of-school situations are very small.

Personal ideals can only originate in personal activities. The school can only integrate traits into ideals when it deals with the actual traits of the children. The school is the logical place in which the children should be helped to understand their own traits and to select those which should be integrated into ideals.

MODIFYING SCHOOL PROCEDURES TO MAKE A DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT POSSIBLE

There are three phases of school procedure that still militate, to too great a degree, against democracy: the administration, the usual classroom procedure, and the curriculum, the last two particularly

in the secondary school. If pupils are to develop responsibility for doing anything besides following instructions; if teachers are to develop responsibility for anything more than carrying out orders; if principals are to develop educational responsibility, each must have some part in saying what shall be done and how it shall be done. And so on through the superintendent and school board to the patrons of the schools, the parents of the children.

No one group or individual should be in a position to dictate. The teachers and administrators of the schools of our country are, probably, the largest organized group of intelligent, well-trained, and socially oriented minds in the world. If they cannot operate on a democratic basis what is the use of trying to teach democracy to the average public? If the schools need dictators, so does the country! Leadership? Yes, inspired leadership! Discipline? Yes, strict discipline, but socially controlled! The good of the system? Yes, but also the sanctity of the individual pupil, teacher, and administrator. In a truly democratic society the problem of education is primarily the problem of the individual.

Classroom procedure has been hinted at above for the teacher is the administrator of the classroom. The above statement that each pupil has his own problem does not mean that a teacher will have forty-five individual activities going on in the room. Much of the activity of childhood is assimilating the cultural heritage. To a very large extent these activities are in response to group needs. However, underneath these group needs there is an individual need of which the teacher ought to be aware; with Susie it may be a nutritional need, with Johnnie, a need of love and security, with Tommy, a need for a different medium of self-expression. If the school can do anything to change traits and so the ideals, it is through helping the individual compensate for the unfavorable emotional upsets acquired outside of school. Instead, the school frequently unwittingly strengthens these traits or causes new unfavorable traits to develop through ignorance of the individual problems.

In the high school the classroom problem is particularly acute. In the first place, all pupils are expected to cover more or less the same amount and type of subject matter. The printed course of study is rigid enough but actual practice makes the program even more rigid. Secondly, teachers are hired as subject-matter experts rather than as guides in adolescent development. Thirdly, no one has enough time to get acquainted with the individual children and their problems. Secondary classes are full of human tragedy but the school goes blithely on teaching the structure and functioning of the frog or the declension of the Latin verb. The problem of the classroom leads directly into the problem of the curriculum.

In the elementary school the principal can do much under the existing curriculum to meet the needs of his particular community, if he knows those needs. The same can be said for the individual teacher meeting the needs of the individual pupils in her room. Progressive leadership can make democratic education effective in at least the first six grades without any radical change.

In the secondary schools the majority of the pupils are forced into courses which mean little to them. They are convinced that they need a *diploma* to get a job; they frequently have little interest in the type of education that we offer. History and literature? Yes, but it should be of an inspirational type to develop favorable attitudes rather than of the purely informative type which develops unfavorable attitudes in both the unresponsive pupil and the over-insistent teacher. Science and mathematics? Yes, but it should be of a type which interprets the environment rather than the highly systematized type adapted to advanced students on the adult level.

There are some pupils in the secondary school who enjoy and profit by the present type of subject matter but most of the secondary population is in school because industry will not give them a place. Their emotional urges are very much the same as were those of pioneer youth of corresponding age: they wish to be independent, they wish to earn their own living, to look forward to marriage and

setting up homes of their own. Their biological and social urges do not find a satisfactory outlet in our present setup. With a guidance and research program in every school, and the privilege of experimentation, much could be done to meet these problems.

With continuous guidance, the student would have a part in determining the program; with a flexible program and the privilege of experimentation the teacher and principal would have a part in developing the program and in meeting the need of the individual child, and there would then be a basis for democratic procedure. Democracy cannot come from the top.

SCHOOL LEADERSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY

While the school is the institution set up by the community to ensure the formal education of the young, the community itself, through the home, the neighborhood, the press, the radio, the churches, the social agencies, the labor unions, the industries, through all of its component parts is educating the young at all times. This community education is often without guidance or coordination and frequently at variance with the traits and ideals upon which democracy must rest. With the young people surrounded by race discrimination, capital and labor conflict, and competition among religious groups, how are the schools effectively to establish faith in social control, faith in *e pluribus unum*?

Since the formal education which the school is called upon to give to the youth of the country has been extended to include "democracy," it devolves upon the school to exert a leadership in the coordination and direction of those influences which are militating against the fulfillment of the demands of the community. This leadership must be democratic. It cannot go beyond the ideals of the community, but it can raise those ideals. School people cannot sit in their ivory towers and direct from above. Leadership implies followers who imply confidence in individuals and institutions.

To convince the public, and particularly the parents of the pupils,

that the schools are more concerned with the individual development of children than they are with compliance with superimposed school tasks is the first and most obvious means of establishing confidence. To send for a mother to discuss the inattention of her son or daughter when they do not know where the next meal is coming from makes her feel that school people do not understand the first principals of human welfare. The schools cannot generate confidence while they concentrate on symptoms in the midst of an epidemic. This consideration of the individual is a fundamental of democracy and of the confidence of the public in the schools.

A second method of establishing leadership is that of gaining the confidence of the other social agencies of the city or of the particular school districts and eventually of coördinating their efforts. While much has been done through community councils, the schools are missing a tremendous opportunity to make their work more effective through closer coöperation with the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Y's, and other character-building and activity organizations. The churches will come together better through their common interest in children than through other aspects of their work. The welfare agencies are more than willing to work with the schools for the welfare of the children. This coöperation can be extended when the school program becomes more flexible and more concerned with the individual. The school can become a major agency in the coördination of the community activities, first for the children and then for the adults.

Industry, both capital and labor, is a dominating influence in present-day communities. The schools have had to take over the training and guidance program formerly performed by industry. There is more or less mutual and thoroughly futile incrimination between the schools and industry. Both institutions want the same thing: successful and rapid adjustment of new workers to their jobs. Outside of the trade schools there has been practically no attempt at a mutual understanding. Out of nine white secondary

schools, in a given city, one is a vocational school and yet more than ninety per cent of their pupils go directly from the secondary school into industry. I do not imply that they should have nine vocational schools but I do imply that guidance and training for initial adjustment to industry should be a major objective of the regular secondary school. Industry has difficult problems which the schools could alleviate to some extent if they understood them better and had a more flexible program. On the other hand, the schools face difficult problems in preparing pupils for entrance into industry and these could be somewhat alleviated if industry understood them and coöperated. The need for closer coöperation has been forcefully demonstrated by the "bottlenecks" of the expanding national defense production. Fortunately, both industry and the schools have responded wholeheartedly in the development of a coöperative program.

The schools cannot teach the ideals of democracy or any other set of ideals which are contrary to the mores of the community. Every American community pays lip service to the ideals of democracy but the life of the community may at times belie them. The teaching of democracy must extend to all phases of American life if it is to be effective, and in accomplishing this end the schools must exert a greater leadership in the community.

SOCIAL RESEARCH

Pure democracy functions in those situations which are so simple that all members know the facts of the community and are able properly to interpret them. As communities grow more complex, facts are more difficult to establish and their intricate relationships become more difficult to interpret. Since the schools are to teach democracy, they have a twofold responsibility in regard to facts: first, the school must have unbiased facts to present to its students in order that they may make judgments adequate for democratic living; second, both teachers and pupils must develop a technique

for determining such facts and for properly evaluating and interpreting them in terms of individual and community welfare

This entails research. Research simply means the gathering of sufficient accurate data that an adequate conclusion can be drawn. Research is an attitude and a technique which can be applied from the kindergarten throughout school life and on into professional, industrial, and political life. It is another term for the scientific process.

In the kindergarten and elementary school research can dominate the type of thinking called for in all activities, although there is danger that the development of the process may become an end in itself instead of a means of solving actual problems. Reflective thinking demands adequate data and the complexity of the data will vary with the problem the child is facing. A young child will take most of its data on faith and, unless the source of the data is within the comprehension of the child, that faith should not be disturbed. The solution of problems should be on a reflective basis.

In the secondary school, and particularly in the upper years, more complex facts dealing with controversial issues will be used. Controversial issues may involve contrary opinions but there are no such things as "contrary facts." Facts may be differently interpreted but facts cannot be controverted. The juggling of facts to bring about preconceived or prejudiced opinions will not lead to confidence or scientific thinking. If the schools are to develop democracy, they must develop the ideal of unprejudiced thinking about social problems. The great bulwark of democracy is facts.

To what extent can secondary-school pupils do original research in social problems? Just as with the kindergarten pupils the problem must be within their powers of comprehension and solution at each level of development. There are many problems within the high school itself which the pupils could solve through research. Most educational research is within the comprehension of high-school pupils under expert guidance, but the schools should not conduct

research unless they are willing to accept the findings. If democracy is to function, all must be prepared to adjust themselves to demonstrated facts. Students are constantly challenging the value of certain school procedures. Are the school people willing to subject these procedures to research? The students would be most readily convinced of their error if the research showed values of which they were not cognizant. Can as much be said for the school adults if the research showed contrary results? Together pupils, teachers, and administrators can develop intellectual honesty and democracy.

Some very objective problems outside of the school may be subjected to research on the secondary-school level. The relationship of playgrounds to delinquency, the relationship of health and mortality to housing conditions, in fact most social relationships which can be adequately determined from secondary sources can be studied by secondary-school students. The technique of gathering original data has to be learned and is probably beyond the ability of most secondary students, but the habit of referring to published reports and properly interpreting them is a type of research which every citizen ought to develop in a democracy.

In highly controversial issues or issues involving the activities or integrity of public persons, the data presented to pupils must be absolutely factual and unbiased. Research is not trying to condemn or commend, it is trying to find the truth so as to provide a basis for action. The consideration of this type of data is within the province of the secondary group and unless they learn to consider it in high school how will they adequately consider it as citizens of an adult democracy?

The gathering of social data from original sources is the work of adults who have been trained for that work. The schools need that data for the proper teaching of democracy. Participation in the gathering of that data will do much to enable the teachers properly to evaluate and interpret it and will raise them in the estimation of their students and the public in general. Too long have school

people spoken as ones having authority when all their authority was secondhand and related to things long past! If the schools are to have the confidence of the public and to have their influence effective with both children and adults, they must become authorities in their own right.

The types of problems which are calling for solution or description are innumerable: case histories of individual pupils; recreational facilities of a school district; reading habits of the families; housing conditions; health and mortality; health facilities; welfare agencies' activities within a district; methods of coördination between school and scouts; educational desires of adolescents; vocational opportunities for beginners; prevocational training for beginners; and coöperative plan for industrial training.

The problems suggested above are all closely related to the school and would result in adjustment of the school to the conditions found. Many of them would extend beyond the school and suggest activities on the part of other agencies. Few of them would bring the schools into conflict with any other group or institution. There is plenty of social good to be done in which the school could assume leadership by doing the research necessary properly to define the problem. After being established as an unbiased research agency, the breadth of problems to be studied would know no limits. Many problems would originate in the discussions of the social-studies classes of the secondary schools and would become proper subjects of study by the adults supplying reliable data to their classes, such as: the place of the adolescent in the judicial system; the local courts and the police department; labor disputes; the operation of the primary election in the local situation; biographies and stands of local candidates; and local civil service.

These problems are the types of problems which the average citizen finds of interest but about which there is no reliable data. We are so deluged with propaganda that we do not trust any published information. *For the teachers to establish themselves as an*

unbiased research agency might at first cause some criticism until they had demonstrated that they were concerned only with thoroughly established facts, and, as far as humanly possible, were above personal prejudice and outside influence. The teaching corps of a city is so large and represents so many different points of view, and is so well educated that they could keep themselves clear of such criticism if they were properly organized for the work.

To teach democracy there must be a source of unbiased facts on current, local situations. Democracy is not something that happened in 1789. It is not something to be taught from textbooks. It is happening here and now. Democracy is a dynamic, progressive activity and to teach it we must be in the midst of it.

SUMMARY

To teach democracy the thinking of the school, pupils, teachers, and administrators must be on a reflective basis. The program must be sufficiently flexible to permit experimentation as a part of the reflective process. There must be sources of data at all levels to make reflective thinking on ever broadening planes adequate. In order to avoid conflicts in the personalities of the pupils, the entire community must be helped to think along reflective lines, using adequate data. This will mean a new and higher type of social leadership than our country has ever before seen.

The job cannot be done in a day nor in a year nor in a century. It cannot be accomplished by edict nor developed in "ivory towers" to be suddenly released upon an admiring and expectant public. As social conditions change and develop, so democracy will have to change and develop. This leadership cannot become static, it can never rest, it must go "on and on and on." It can begin now in every classroom where teacher and administrator understand the problem. It can begin in every secondary school where they do more than lip service to guidance. It can develop gradually but steadily and democratically.

PRESCRIPTION FOR INTEGRITY

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In a day when the worth of personality needs increasing emphasis, confusing attacks and insinuations from the laboratories are challenging the very fact of character. Integrity appears as a strange face to a scientific generation.

That the barrage is without malice or conspiracy appears from the lack of coordinated attack. Each negative implication springs independently out of the soil of objective science. The total effect, however, is serious for the preservation of human values.

The result is as unnecessary as it is disastrous. For neither in particular nor *in toto* does sound scientific method challenge the fact of personality. Not one of the damaging assumptions, when closely examined, proves logically to deny any of the highest values found in consistent character. Indeed, the process of integration itself finds support and explanation in the very science that first attacked it.

There was the attack of behaviorism: science must be objective. Only overt acts can be studied objectively. Out of such objective study came the amazing logic: we started by examining only objective data; from that data we find no evidence that personality is a reality; we conclude that it is a senseless self-deception¹ The fallacy was quickly detected, but damage had been done. Science had "proved" the nothingness of personality.

More incidental was the discovery that motives are specific. Speak not of truthfulness; speak only of truthful statements. Expect not honesty; be content with honest choices. To be sure, the chief studies which proved that choices are specific were made with children; and the authors asserted that the evidence in no way indicated that higher integration of conduct was impossible.¹ Still the impression

¹ Hugh Hartshorne, Mark A. May, Frank K. Shuttleworth, *Studies in the Organization of Character* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1928-1930), p. 359.

was afoot and has traveled far. Any talk of integrated personality must be but the wishful thinking of some idealist who has outlived his day!

"No transfer of training" is a slogan which also tends to throw out of court any effort to justify integration of personality. The slogan emerged from careful studies of specific habits and of the organization of specific data, in no way involving integration of values. That every habit and idea must be gained at its own price in mental effort was the original, precise denial of transfer. But at first glance integration looks like transfer, and, without a second glance, is by many discarded.

The first encouragement comes from that practical army of psychologists and educators whose primary concern is mental health and happiness. The tragedy to be avoided, they insist, is disintegration of personality. The child is certainly not at birth an integrated person, and before disintegration can occur there must be integration.

In practice these zealous workers for the happiness of children actually provide the conditions for integration. They seldom refer to the label, but they plan well for the process. So their program constitutes an excellent laboratory for study, and patient observation of healthy growing children offers further light. By comparison of well-established particulars the picture becomes clearer. Altogether there is cumulative evidence that integration of personality is a process as real as any chemical change observable in the laboratory.

Imagine a child who has never heard the word "flower" visiting a garden. First she is shown a bed of violets and is told the name—violets. She picks a blossom, smells it, touches it to her face, looks at it. The deep color, fragrance, the daintiness of shape, the softness of the petals—all these stimulations give pleasure to the child. The violet is not only perceived but it is enjoyed. The child moves on. Graceful tulips nod at her and she is told this name, also. Again she is pleased; she enjoys the fragrance, the color, the gracefulness of

the bells and of their swaying motion. The tulips are not only perceived; they are enjoyed. As she goes through the garden one after another of the blooms is similarly named, perceived, and enjoyed.

As yet she knows them only by their particular names. Finally the gardener, noting her beaming face, says, "So you like my flowers?" Perplexed, she replies, "I haven't seen any *flowers*. We must have missed them!" Whereupon the gardener explains to her that these are all *flowers*, that each one is a flower; the word flower is the name of a class; it symbolizes all the individual blossoms which she had first learned by their separate names. She understands. She has gained the concept *flower*; she has learned its definition.

Promptly and eagerly she exclaims, "Oh, yes, indeed; I love your flowers!" Whence came her liking of flowers? Quite distinct from the learning of the concept, the affective state has become associated with that word "*flower*." It means more to her than the deep color of the violet, more than the graceful sway of the tulip, more than the subtle fragrance of the mignonette. It means fragrance, not particularized but generalized; it means color and form and grace likewise generalized; it means all that the separate names can mean, not as a sum of particulars but as a comprehensive appreciation of all their aspects of beauty. The enjoyments of the separate flowers have been *integrated* into the enjoyment of the concept *flower*.

In integration the feelings of satisfaction which were at first attached to particular objects become attached to a concept. The process is somewhat analogous to the radiation of heat through connected copper wires, or the convergence of water from many tributaries into the main river.

There is no mysticism in this process. That is, there is nothing learned through channels differing from the normal learning process. Of course there is still mystery, for he would be a bold scientist indeed who claimed that he had removed all mystery from the process by which the violet gives pleasure to the child. But the nature of the process by which pleasure is attached to the violet is not different

from that by which the pleasure of violets and tulips and mignottes becomes attached to the concept *flower*.

Integration is a process by which the feeling tone at first attached to specific experiences enters into concepts which are organized from those experiences. *It is an affective process rather than intellectual.* All that is necessary for integration is that there shall be similar types of satisfaction in each of the elements which have been organized into the concept. If flowers are sometimes beautiful and fragrant and sometimes thorny or bee infested, it will take on both its positive and negative values, essential for a total generalized concept.

The illustration was chosen from the aesthetic field for the sake of simplicity. The most significant applications of integration, however, are to be found in the field of social values. The inner nature of integration is not different in the two.

When a child has been thoroughly trained in the habit of putting her toys in places provided for them, of hanging her clothes in designated places, of dusting her furniture each morning, and in other specific habits affecting the appearance of her room, it is then possible to make clear to her the meaning of the word "neat." Neglect of any particular habit thereafter comes to be recognized as interfering with the "neatness" of the room. The child was not trained in *neatness*; she was trained in specific habits until each one of them was satisfying and its neglect annoying. But when she comes to think in terms of the neatness of the room the motivation for each act which contributes to neatness is stronger than before, for now leaving her clothing lying around the room is annoying not only in terms of the habit of hanging up clothes but in terms of the neatness of the room also. Thus specific acts yield their slight but cumulative satisfactions to the larger behavior pattern of which they have come to be parts, with the result that the total pattern is more satisfying than any of its parts.

Truthfulness is the product of integration. It is not effectively taught as a generalized trait, but rather the separate truthful state-

ments are made satisfying. This process is continued until the child develops the concept of *truthfulness* and into that concept flows the feeling tone of each contributing experience. If this cumulative experience has been adequately guided, the child has a strong desire to tell the truth.

Similarly each trait of character is created by the favorable conditioning of specific related acts through which is developed a general concept which includes them. When all specific acts of one type are consistently enjoyable the radiation of affective tone from particulars to concept takes place automatically.

The process of integration is far more involved and complicated than the above account indicates. The picture is greatly oversimplified even by the suggestion of a three-level hierarchy consisting of specific acts, traits, and ideals. While these three typical stages in the unifying of personality deserve a word of description, the complexity of integration must be kept clearly in mind.

Just as the trait is established by approving specific acts, so ideals are built up from traits. The similar social effects of honesty and truthfulness and sportsmanship are made clear and related to the word "honor," thus forming the more inclusive concept of honor. Into this concept radiate all the favorable conditionings of the constituent traits. The cumulative and unified product is the ideal of honor. Every trait falling under the total concept now possesses a worth not previously felt. Every act recognized as belonging to this ideal is now motivated by the strengthened urge. Conduct thus tends to be consistent within each major ideal.

The picture thus far has been one of cumulative steps. However, integration is not wholly a process of increasing the range of value patterns. In one very important aspect the range is diminished. *Inhibition* takes place whenever two patterns conflict in some essential and permanent phase. Somewhat as a totem pole is carved from a tree after the tree has grown to an appropriate size, so a concept expands to include many elements, then it is trimmed away by re-

finements of meaning. As the concept becomes more clearly defined the values integrated by it are reduced correspondingly to its restricted boundaries, attaching to those particulars alone which remain identified with the revised concept.

It is also possible to integrate values within a concept by experiencing both favorable and unpleasant aspects of the total. As suggested earlier in this analysis, after one has discovered at firsthand the meaning of thorns the values are divided. Roses are still prized; but the lover of flowers is on the alert to avoid the thorns. Both positive and negative aspects of the concept have developed; and the value system which is wholly favorable becomes narrowed to something less than the total concept "flowers"; it now excludes the thorns. Acquaintance with a *person* offers perhaps the best illustration of integration by inhibition. Assuming a favorable attitude at the start, the friendship grows as acquaintance improves and continues as a unified but expanding attitude as new phases of character are discovered. If unpleasant traits are discovered friendship continues, but full approval is withheld from the objectionable traits.

Inhibition, then, cuts off those patterns which prove annoying and those that interfere with the realization of approved judgments. It is as though the annoying features became negatively magnetized and receded from the approved phase of the concept. The process is automatic. So far as the inner workings of the mind are concerned nothing need be done to bring it about. Although difficult of complete realization, the principle can be stated simply: one who is seeking to foster the process has only to decide what phases of a concept need to be excluded from the approved features and render them annoying.

If a situation arises in which it is desirable that one should feel blindly loyal to a total concept, then every care should be taken not to permit any aspect of it to become annoying. If, on the other hand, situations arise in which it is desirable that fine discrimination should be felt within a concept, then specific provisions should be

made for causing some aspects to be annoying to the individual, and others pleasing.

In the larger integration of human character every tendency which is out of harmony with the central principle around which character is being integrated needs to be deliberately made annoying by one means or another. The actual inconsistencies need to be resolved into open conflicts, thus sharpening the realization of its in-harmonies. Only thus can character become highly unified and self-consistent.

If it is important to understand the function of inhibition in refining and unifying value systems, it is likewise necessary to note the significant function of variety in enriching meanings. To one who enjoys photography and poetry and piano playing and tennis each interest gives added thrill because of the contrast afforded by others. Somewhat as the timber of a musical note depends upon supplementary systems of vibrations, so the quality of human experience depends upon the variety of supplementary experiences which contribute to its total meaning. The unity of a value system is enriched by its constituent variety.

In such a discussion as this there is danger of oversimplification. The integrated personality should not be thought of on the analogy of the human skeleton without flesh and color; the pyramid of cannon balls in the village square is no better analogy. A truer metaphor is found in the apple tree in full leaf and bloom. The tree has a single trunk to which all the branches are related and, through them, every blossom and leaf; but the total impression of the tree is a great mass of green and pink forming a unified picture to the eye. Similarly, unified personality has color and beauty. While a single system of values may give it unity and a few varied but harmonizing traits give further body to that unified value system, the total personality is enriched by thousands upon thousands of specific experiences, many of which do not come into consciousness as distinct memories but all contribute to the form and color of the total

If integration has been consistently social and particular experiences have been adequate in number and adequately satisfying, then the total system will be highly altruistic and highly satisfying. Such an outcome will be in the nature of a hierarchy at the pinnacle of which altruism dominates, and within which contributing traits and habits constitute motives, freely expressed so long as they do not conflict with social welfare, but inhibited in whatever directions they do conflict.

A personality so integrated will be single minded, but not single-track minded. He will have the widest range of interests that his experience and training could cultivate in him. Only those that were in conflict with the unifying value in his personality will have been inhibited. He may have a thousand lively interests. Life may be for him exceedingly rich and varied. At every turn he may find a new thrill since every contact with environment may satisfy some cultivated interest. The integration of his personality will have robbed him of far less than it added, for his unifying value will be a regulator but no substitute for the many interests that open roads to happiness.

However simple the process of motivating little children to specific performance, the principles of motivation find their crowning value when applied to the integration of interests into value systems and integration of value systems into unified character. When the laws of motivation are adequately understood and applied to this high social goal through wholesome direction by the agencies of social control, the dream of a more integrated human society will have been brought closer within the range of practical realization.

A NOTE ON THE TEACHING OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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An analysis of catalogues for institutions of higher learning throughout the United States indicates that there are approximately eighty courses announced within the general field of social change. The titles include such names as social progress, social trends, social dynamics, social change, social evolution, social prediction, etc. In two cases, more than one such course is offered within the same university. The teachers of fifty-five of these courses were kind enough to write descriptions of them, and their letters have been used in this analysis. The replies, with five exceptions, were full, discursive letters which gave indication of the intellectual objectives of the courses, the methods employed, and the material covered. The majority of them included bibliographies or syllabuses. Their excellence prompted, as an afterthought, the writing of this article, as the original request for information was intended merely for personal teaching purposes.

One of the most striking aspects of these courses is the variety of their objectives; that is, in the last analysis, of their basic conceptions of social change and of the methods by which it is studied. These conceptions are in some cases not stated in the letters, but are implicit in the differing emphases on course content, or in the differing methods of approach. The views of social change, although they represent almost as many gradations as the number of courses itself, may be roughly classified in three groups. There is an almost equal number of courses in each of the three. The first group includes courses which regard change as some form of progress; the second, those which predicate some other theory of the direction or the process of change, or which examine various theories of this sort; while the third group is made up of those courses which lay first emphasis not upon any theories of change but on the ways in which

specific social changes have actually occurred, and on the consequences of these changes. Courses in this third group use the "problem" approach, although they have by necessity at least an incidental interest either in some theory of change or in the absence of such a theory.¹

There are fourteen courses in the group of those which are clearly oriented in some way to the idea of progress. Three of these regard progress in an organic evolutionary sense, as, in one instance, specifically supporting a "belief in purpose behind the world order." Six others treat the idea of progress historically and, in general, critically. One letter says, for example,

We trace the idea of progress through history. . . . That is, we note the neglect of this idea among primitive races, the Oriental idea of the cycle, the Greek notion of regression, the Medieval rejection of all earthly good, and the renewal of the idea at the Renaissance. Rather more attention is paid to the laissez-faire theories of Ricardo, Malthus, Spencer, and W. G. Sumner and, of course, we emphasize the influence of the Darwinian theory and the theory of mechanical and inevitable progress which followed.

Another letter describes a course in

. . . Social Progress in which we study the basis of a theory of Progress, the criteria by which it is to be measured and a review of important theories and theorists.

A third critical course is termed "a degeneration of the original course in social evolution," and this "degeneration" appears to be typical of a widespread skepticism of progress as a doctrine even among those who teach it as a theory.

Two other courses in this progress group make use of the contributions of contemporary cultural anthropologists, yet manage to

¹ Not belonging directly to any one of the three groups were two courses which aim primarily to encourage independent research by students, and three others which focus their interest upon prediction. These last three differ only in emphasis from many others which also deal with the projection of past trends into the future.

maintain their emphasis on the idea of progress. One of these is described as follows:

... in general I may say that we tried to present the theories of progress, some criteria of progress, certain theories concerning why changes come in human society, and the stimulating conditions giving rise to inventions. The whole field of culture anthropology served as a useful reservoir in cultural dynamics through its discussion of culture diffusion and independent origins.

There is a similar tendency away from the automatic evolution-progress view among the five remaining courses in this group, which look upon progress not only as the key concept in sociology, but as one susceptible of scientific analysis. Three of these five are mainly concerned with techniques for measuring the degree of progress, and the other two with techniques for increasing the rate at which progress is being accomplished. The following statements are typical:

... we endeavor to arrive at a scientific statement, or as nearly scientific statement as possible, regarding what social progress is, then review the various institutions ... in the light of this statement.

... social progress is central in sociology. ... Promotion of human welfare is the goal of progress set by sociology ...

Distinct from these courses in progress, the second group, consisting of fifteen courses, emphasizes some other theory or theories of change. Three of these specifically base their treatment upon cultural lag or upon some variation of that general hypothesis. Thus, one man writes,

I select the Veblen-Ogburn thesis of technological determinants as the unifying viewpoint and framework of the course. ...

And, another says,

... [the course considers] the impact of technology on our culture. ...

Three other courses focus attention upon some other single factor, such as race, migration, or a psychoanalytical factor. The subject of

another group of three is a comparative analysis of a number of elements in social change. Typical of these is the course which devotes its attention to

... theories of social change, the biological, racial, geographical, cultural theories, ... and discusses static and dynamic cultures ...

The remaining six courses in this group use a still wider theoretical approach to the subject. Two statements indicate the nature of this approach:

... an analysis of the causes of social change and then develops the problem of social change from the philosophical, historical, and sociological points of view. ...

... [an analysis] of the various theories of causation ... plus a particular theoretical framework. ...

These last six courses vary in emphasis from critical eclecticism in the field of theory to social and cultural syntheses.²

Finally, there is a group of sixteen courses which may be described as tending toward a practical rather than a theoretical analysis. Their primary concern is with the data themselves rather than with the generalizations which may be drawn from the data. Although errors of judgment may have been committed in pigeonholing some of the individual courses, there can be no error about the existence of this practical pigeonhole as distinct from the theoretical one. And the important implication here is that there is a large group of courses being taught upon either one of two assumptions: first, that there is or can be no tenable theory of social change, or, second, that no theory has yet been developed to the point where it demands more emphasis than the particular facts of change themselves.

These sixteen courses may be divided among three subgroups: those that describe specific changes, those that discuss the resultant

² These emphases are respectively illustrated by two recently published works: Newell L. Sim, *The Problem of Social Change* (New York: The Crowell Publishing Company, 1939) and P. A. Sorokin's three-volume work, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York: American Book Company, 1937).

problems, and those that emphasize techniques for controlling change, thereby eliminating the problems.

A search for common elements among all these three groups of courses reveals an apparent tendency away from the nineteenth-century application of the theory of evolution to society, and a less clear, often hesitant, tendency toward a theory of cultural lag.⁸ Thus, one teacher writes, "... I have revamped my course quite a bit and have dropped the term 'progress' from the title", while another finds himself adopting the cultural lag thesis "stressing the point that for our day and time this theory is at least as defensible as any other."

The main issue which arises in regard to the future of the concept of social change, at least from the point of view of teaching, is: Will it be possible to continue to deal with social change in terms of some basic factor, in line with Mr. Ogburn's influence? Or will it become necessary to consider the subject in much broader terms which are applicable to whole cultures, like those recently defined by Mr. Sorokin? Or, as a third alternative, must social change be relegated to the status of a special kind of social-problems history? Whatever the answer to these questions may be, one can hardly disagree with the final sentence of one letter: "I am perfectly clear in my own mind as to the need of developing a science of describing the process of social change. Yet I am equally clear that we have hardly yet begun even to develop a vocabulary in this field." Nor can one fail to recognize, on the basis of these data of course content, that the subject itself, even if in the embryonic stage, is nevertheless developing. One might possibly feel inclined to predict that these academic stirrings may yet produce bonafide labor pains which will yield a new and vigorous and even eugenic member of *familia sociologica*—(a family with other offspring which are not perfect specimens, and one which has frequently been accused of miscegenation in a variety of forms)!

⁸ In addition to the three courses in which interest centered specifically about cultural lag, there were ten out of the sixteen "problem" courses which tended to emphasize this as an hypothesis. This was further indicated by the widespread use of *Recent Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934) as a text in the problem courses.

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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The adult population of the United States is composed of approximately 75,000,000 persons whose education has been on the whole relatively slight. Over 3,000,000 are illiterate and over 36,000,000 did not finish elementary school.

Few if any of those who completed elementary and secondary schools, or even procured their bachelor's degree, would say, "I have finished my education." Events move too rapidly in this modern world to make this possible. Much of the education which adults received long ago in school is likely to be obsolete now. For in this changing world, "facts" learned in school twenty-five years ago may not even be true today. Furthermore, there are many problems with which youth cannot deal because neither the problems themselves nor the wisdom for dealing with them are present during adolescence.

Even now all the children are not being educated in such fundamentals as reading and writing. In 1930 nearly a million between the ages of seven and thirteen were not going to school at all, most of them from the poverty zones. In the rural areas of the States mental starvation can be found, as there are many localities in which schools are open only for a few months each year. All of this means that there is a compelling need for adult education. It is because of a recognition of these educational deficiencies that the recent *Report of the Advisory Committee on Education* to the President of the United States urged that \$15,000,000 be appropriated annually by the Federal Government for adult education but as yet this has not been authorized by the Congress.

Just what is the present status of adult education? Prior to 1924 little was done in the field beyond some 3,000 lecture lyceums which usually functioned only a few weeks or months each year. Early in the twenties the Carnegie Corporation began to interest itself in this

problem and after conducting a survey called a conference in 1925. The result was that in 1926 the American Association for Adult Education was formed with the aid of money from the Carnegie Foundation. This organization has acted as a clearing house of information on the subject, has aided some adult-education work now in progress, and has published a series of books describing what is being done as well as possibilities in the field. It estimates that today thirty million people are taking part in some form of adult education such as classes, forums, playing in amateur orchestras, singing, listening to educational radio broadcasts, etc. Adult education is being carried on through the following agencies: libraries, museums, clubs, prisons, trade unions, public schools, churches, settlements, theaters, colleges and universities, health organizations, parent-education agencies, and radio stations.

The quality of the work is varied and most of it, outside of that conducted by the trade unions, avoids anything which would antagonize the dominant interests of each community. Let us consider some of the specific forms of this education.

THOSE CONDUCTED BY GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). In 1933 Congress established civilian camps for single male citizens between the ages of 17 and 24 years who were unemployed and whose families were on relief. The United States is divided into nine corps areas each with an educational director who supervises the work of the educational leaders in every camp. In all, some 700,000 enrolled in the camps have been or are participating in an educational program. Of these about 25 per cent are enrolled in reading, writing, arithmetic, or other general courses, while 64 per cent are taking training for specific occupations. About 11 per cent take courses in recreational activity. Since there is a turnover of 300,000 every six months in these camps it means that those who enroll usually get a rather short period of training.

*The Works Progress Administration*¹ (WPA). Since 1935 the Federal Government has been using from twenty to twenty-five million dollars a year for educational programs under the WPA. It employs about 40,000 teachers and has about 2,000,000 in its classes. The subjects taught include: literacy and naturalization, public affairs, home and family living, general cultural education, nursing, hygiene and general education, training for trade, industrial and commercial occupations, agriculture, vocational guidance and adjustment, education in leisure-time activities including arts, literature, language, public speaking, dramatics, and music. About 250,000 are being taught to read and write. Besides regular classes and lectures there are forums, educational tours, laboratory and shop exercises.

The WPA also uses some 30,000 library workers directed by a staff of 88 fully trained and 50 partly trained librarians. The work resulted in 2,300 new libraries, 3,400 reading rooms, and 5,800 traveling libraries. Some of the latter are housed in automobiles which go from place to place lending out books. In 1938 approximately 1,250,000 persons were enrolled in classes under the WPA with the cooperation of the public schools. The WPA also has an agricultural extension program with a staff of 8,500.

In the field of music it employed over 13,000 musicians who played before an aggregate audience of 100,000,000 last year. Over 3,500 needy writers have been employed to write local and State guide books. The Federal Theatre Project, during the time that it was in operation, employed over 9,000 who during 1938 played to an aggregate of 27,000,000 people. About 4,000 artists were employed in 1939 who produced 300,000 photographs, drawings, and art pieces. The various art exhibits which were held were visited by over 22,000,000 people.

The National Youth Administration (NYA). This agency furnishes educational opportunity, work experience, and a placement

¹ Name now changed to Work Projects Administration.

service to the youth of the nation. In the work program training on public projects is provided to out-of-school unemployed youth between the ages of 18 and 24. In the student-aid division financial assistance is given to needy students between the ages of 16 and 24. In the field of placement, boys and girls are aided in securing jobs in private industry. Since its establishment in 1935 the NYA has assisted 950,000 students to continue their studies. In addition to this, 750,000 out-of-school unemployed young people have received work experience and training, and 173,251 have been placed on jobs in private industry. The cost of this program for the present year is \$100,000,000.

The Federal Office of Education. The Federal Office of Education has promoted forums to the extent of a million dollars a year. The forums are occasionally run by schools alone but usually by civic and social organizations alone or in combination with the schools. Sometimes libraries and churches also conduct them. The forums deal with such topics as: European conditions, international relations, social and civic problems, race relations, literature and art, drama, sociology, economics, labor unions, social security, municipal government, prevention of depression and unemployment, parental problems and birth control, travel, and peace and war. Some idea of the size of the work may be gathered from the fact that in 17 different forum centers being sponsored by the Office of Education in a single month the following activities were listed: 1,274 neighborhood meetings with an attendance of 101,072, 35 luncheon meetings with an attendance of 2,028, 51 small discussion meetings with an attendance of 1,561, 5 city-countywide meetings with an attendance of 53,854. At these meetings in the aggregate only 199 library books were lent but 15,854 pamphlets were distributed.

Throughout the United States during the first year of forum demonstrations as sponsored by the Office of Education over 10,000 forums were conducted with an aggregate attendance of over a million. J. W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education,

says, "If we are to have that trained civic intelligence, that critical open-mindedness upon which the practical operation of a democracy must rest, we must soon take steps to establish throughout the nation an impartial, comprehensive, systematic, coördinated, and completely managed system of public forums, publicly supported and publicly administered "

The Public Schools. As we have already mentioned, the public schools coöperate in some localities in adult education but rarely inaugurate independent work by themselves. The public schools vary a great deal in their standards and effectiveness. In the South, Negro schools are likely to be poor and so many Negroes are living at or even below the subsistence level that it is difficult to interest them in adult education.

Each of the above programs has been given an unprecedented impetus through the rapidly developing program for national defense. In June, the Congress appropriated 15,000,000 dollars to be administered through the Office of Education, for the development of trade and vocational courses to eliminate the "bottle-necks" in production. In September, 60,500,000 dollars more were appropriated for the continuance and further expansion of this program to include also courses on the college level. In August of this year, 80,000 persons were taking such courses and it is estimated that by November 1, approximately 107,000 will be enrolled. Nearly all of these students had previously completed their formal schooling and the great majority are adults.

PARENT EDUCATION

Programs of education in family living have been established in most of our larger cities. The WPA (discussed above) enrolled 66,000 in parent education and 135,000 in homemaking where they studied cooking, nutrition, health, clothing and household management. The Government has organized thousands of farm women in study circles. The Health Service has helped to organize mother's

clinics. The Consumer Division of the Department of Labor has also started Consumer Councils to aid the public to purchase intelligently. There are some fifteen national organizations working in the field of parent education of which the National Congress of Parents and Teachers is the largest with a membership of 2,000,000.

WORKERS' EDUCATION

Aside from the Rand School in New York City and the efforts of the Women's Trade Union League there was little workers' education prior to 1921. In that year a resident school was started at Brookwood, New York, to train men and women for active leadership in the labor movement. The same year a summer school for women workers was started at Bryn Mawr. In 1921 also the Workers' Education Bureau was organized to promote workers' education through the trade unions.

Since that time and especially during the thirties the movement has grown rapidly along several different lines:

1. Study classes—where union members meet regularly under the direction of an instructor. It is estimated that in 1939 2,500 teachers were giving instruction to more than 160,000 in such classes.

2. Labor colleges—There are now some eight resident labor colleges which try to train workers and those going into the trade-union movement. The subjects taught usually include among others: economics, history of labor, journalism, and public speaking.

3. Mass education—lectures, forums, pictures for trade-union meetings and groups of workers. The exact number who sees or hears these each year is unknown but it undoubtedly runs up into the hundreds of thousands.

4. Labor institutes—These institutes are usually conducted by labor or by a university and last from three to five days. At each session several speakers present problems of current interest to labor. The talks are usually followed by discussion.

Especially important in the field of workers' education are the

activities carried on by the various unions for the benefit of their own membership. Let us cite a few concrete examples. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers has a "Department of Cultural Activities" which employs five educational organizers. Each year it holds a number of regional conferences which include lectures, motion pictures, radio broadcasts, dramatics, music, parental education, children's groups, study and athletic groups. In 1939 they had correspondence courses in five subjects with an enrollment of 900.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has had an education department since 1917 with an expert staff to direct it. In 1939 it had over 25,000 students enrolled in 620 classes in some 58 different cities. Besides a full-time national educational staff it has educational directors in 25 local unions. This department tries to reach all the union's 262,000 members by such activities as popular lectures, radio programs, excursions, motion pictures, radio, drama, and music. The drama department succeeded in staging a musical revue called *Pins and Needles* which met with tremendous success and toured throughout America. Each year the union publishes educational material. In the past four years it has sold and distributed over 200,000 copies.

The American Federation of Hosiery Workers has an education department which conducts classes in some twenty of its locals.

It would be possible to list a great number of other unions and tell of their educational work but the ones mentioned are representative of what is being done. All together the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) has 100,000 enrolled in classes, and the American Federation of Labor has even more.

The Workers' Education Bureau, mentioned earlier in this article, is the official educational agency for the American Federation of Labor. It publishes books and pamphlets, provides lectures for trade unions, and conducts a workers' education news service. During the past year it has been active in promoting institutes in co-operation with a number of the State federations of labor. It has also

arranged for radio broadcasts and correspondence courses in public speaking.

There are a number of localities where local labor colleges have been established. These provide courses open to all trade unionists in the vicinity.

From what has been said it can be seen that the picture of adult education in the United States is uneven. In some sections of the country public agencies are active, in others there is a complete absence of adult education. Some trade unions are doing a great deal, others are doing nothing. On the whole it has taken a major depression and the scourge of unemployment to awaken the American people to the need of adult education.

America still lacks a carefully planned program of adult education although the American Association for Adult Education is taking preliminary steps looking toward this end. It remains to be seen whether in a period of war "prosperity" even the results so far attained in the field can be maintained.

CONCERNING THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

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Children now occupy a status in the social order which differs widely from any position occupied by them in the past. In a family-centered agricultural economy such as prevailed during early American history, it was possible for children to work under the supervision of parents and assist in the work of producing the necessities of life. On account of the gradual transition away from the earlier rural economy to machine production in rural areas and to factory production in urban communities, the family came to be less and less at the center of productive activity. This transition brought with it a condition in which it is no longer either suitable or convenient for children to assist parents in carrying on their vocations. The trend toward removing youth more and more from participation in productive activity has created an increasingly grave problem for parents with respect to caring for their children and educating them.

Because of the foregoing facts in social trends, parents turned their attention more and more to public schools in their search for a solution to their problems concerning the care of youth. In reality, public schools as we now know them came into being because families within a community entered upon a venture in cooperation to supply the educational needs of their children. Even though individual families could reduce the cost of education by means of public schools, a new tax item made its appearance in the community budget. This tax item (because of increasing demands upon and services rendered through schools) mounted constantly higher and higher. Children remain consumers, for regardless of how we view this problem the fact is that neither parents nor schools derive any monetary profits from rearing and educating children. Public schools declare no financial dividends to their patrons. The edu-

cation of youth still remains a social necessity regardless of how and where it is to be accomplished.

In a family-centered agricultural economy the major portion of skills and insights which were considered necessary for carrying on rural activities were acquired without the aid of formal schools. The work of "education" was carried on in the main through the simple expedient of having the immature members of the community participate with adults in doing the necessary work of society. It was a case of learning to carry on by carrying on.

This sort of learning is, however, seldom associated in the popular mind with the idea of "education." Even educators themselves give evidence of regarding education as being something that pertains to work accomplished by pupils in school while laboring over books in the presence of teachers. Writers on the history of education are far more eloquent in stating what was taught in schools of the past and what was said by eminent philosophers, theologians, humanists, scientists, and teachers than they are in giving pictures of the *social process* by which the masses became equipped to carry on the affairs of the community in which they lived

Inasmuch as learnings acquired through participation in doing "practical" work were not generally regarded as having "educational" value, the deeper meaning for education in what was transpiring in the transition from an agricultural life to one of power-driven industry was slow in being realized. Schools which formerly operated mainly to supplement practical experience by giving instruction in the three "R's" were simply expanded to make room for more children for a longer period of time. Questions concerning the curriculum were not raised. Traditional school studies were accepted as being adequate for the education of the child. In this manner, a type of school program which formerly functioned as a supplement to the education which youth acquired through participation in practical affairs eventually came to hold a monopoly in the education of the child. Book learning came more and more to

supplant learning acquired through participation in carrying on the arts of the community. It was taken for granted that children could profit by getting an education and, it was assumed, they would get it if they went to school. Regardless of educational values that did or did not accompany participation in a traditional curriculum, parents could be certain of at least one thing: their children were being "kept" in school under supervision during hours when profitable employment for them could not be found otherwise.

Evidence of this latter fact is found in the constantly increasing attendance in both public and private schools. Population statistics for the United States show that the number of children in the five-to-seventeen-year age group increased from 12 millions in 1870 to 31 millions in 1936, whereas the number of youth enrolled in public schools increased from 6 millions in 1870 to 26 millions in 1936, almost twice the number that could be accounted for by population increase alone. Figures for public high schools are still more impressive. In 1870 only 0.2 per cent of the total population was enrolled in public high schools whereas by 1936 this number had increased to 17.3 per cent. The total number in high school in 1870 was 80,227, whereas in 1936 this number was increased to 5,974,537.¹ "Going to school" which by now has become the fashion for youth to follow does not cease with graduation from high school. From 1890 to 1936 attendance at public and private colleges increased from 150,000 to 1,200,000.²

Impressive as the foregoing statistics are with regard to what is taking place in American life, their deeper significance points to the necessity for making changes in the curriculum rather than that of merely enlarging the school plant to take care of increased numbers. Coming as students now do from an ever widening area in social life they bring with them an endless variety of vocational interests and

¹ United States Office of Education, Department of the Interior, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1935-1936*, Bulletin No. 2, 1937, p. 55.

² *Population Trends and Their Educational Implications*, Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, XVI. 1 (January 1938), p. 37.

abilities. Inasmuch as youth is not now and never was fashioned after a standard pattern, it is impossible to provide for the educational needs of all by having them pursue a standard curriculum. At a time when only a select few attended institutions of higher learning it was possible to adhere rather closely to a rigid school program; but with the march of time, sons and daughters of taxpayers have brought increasing pressure on colleges and universities to liberalize their offerings. Educators are forced to reckon with the demands of youth and to deviate from "orthodox" practices to supply them.

Evidence that educators still entertain the idea that some fields of knowledge have greater educational worth than others may be found in gatherings of schoolmen who are assembled for the purpose of setting up requirements which high-school students must meet in order to be admitted to institutions of higher learning. Inasmuch as school executives feel they must maintain "academic" respectability for their institutions, they may not easily stray very far from the beaten path. But what an academic study is, and what it is that makes it academic is hard to say. In the end we may discover that academic studies are in reality nothing other than those studies which we pursued when we were in school. The weight of tradition operates upon us from all sides to create pressure to maintain "respectability" as a goal for education.

In meeting the problem of educating youth the school is faced with these two counteracting influences: the changed social and economic conditions of which youth is more aware than the adult, and the restraining hand of tradition to which the adult attaches more importance than does youth. Changes in education will always be gradual and uneven, except in a period of national emergency.

It is important to remember that youth (in spite of our reluctance to change) will succeed in bringing about adjustments of one kind or another. They insist on having a place in the social order. New institutions will spring up to meet their demands. This very thing

happened among us not so very long ago when the Federal Government organized CCC camps and NYA work projects for the benefit of boys whose needs for one reason or another were not being satisfied by schools and other social agencies. When schools cease to operate for the benefit of all youth society suffers thereby.

By some strange pedagogical oversight it was not the practice of rural parents to require their children to write theme papers on any of the multitudinous activities in which they participated. Perhaps that is why activities in the practical arts of rural life came to be overlooked as having values for education. When we move away from these simple but purposeful rural activities into a formal school we observe that the matter of writing papers and placing marks upon them became a very important feature of the work. Since it is assumed that grades must be given to stimulate youth to do good work in school, teachers build exhaustive tests with which to measure the quality of work done in a given subject. Zeal for accuracy in measuring the work which children do in school stimulated interest in the use of statistical methods. Grading and bookkeeping, even, in some instances, insistence upon the normal distribution curve, have now become a matter of major concern in traditional schools. Only brave educators (and their number is increasing) undertake to run a school in which grades are subordinated to other educational values.

To close this brief discussion at this point would leave the implication that education in the earlier family economy was more to be desired than that in modern schools, and would indicate a gross ignorance on the part of the author of the changes that have taken place in schools and colleges.

That education recognizes that there were certain values in the earlier method of learning by doing practical things and is swinging back from its academic "respectability" is evidenced by the introduction of home economics, trade and vocational schools, workshops, and field work, and the extensive development of student activities. In the majority of schools nonacademic diplomas and degrees are

now given and students who receive them are considered almost as "respectable" as those who complete the academic course. It is interesting to note, however, that just as trade and vocational education was given its first impetus in the last war, so the needs of national defense are again bringing it the cloak of respectability. Within the last four months, Congress has appropriated \$75,500,000 for vocational courses for youths and adults to be given in existing educational institutions. There is, in fact, some danger that the pendulum will again swing too far and we shall lose sight of the values of a general and cultural education. Perhaps educators will find the "golden mean."

When we become ready to put into practice all that is implied in the idea that institutions are made for man, many practices that now operate under the name of education will vanish. The challenge to leaders in present-day institutions (industrial, economic, educational, and religious) calls for renewed and intelligent interest in the needs of youth. If a progressive social order is to continue, it is incumbent upon society to see to it that somewhere and somehow youth are provided with opportunities for acquiring mastery over their environment through acquiring both knowledge and skills for developing socialized dispositions, and for gaining insight into the meaning of human affairs.

THE INTERESTS OF SCOUTS AND NON-SCOUTS

LAWRENCE E. ABT, PAUL MENDENHALL, AND E. D. PARTRIDGE

Boy Scouts of America

In the belief that interests represent a key concept in contemporary education, the Boy Scouts of America has recently conducted an extensive survey of the interests of Scouts and non-Scouts in New York City. Research of this kind is considered basic to the Scout program which is held to be so successful in satisfying adolescent boy interests. On the assumption that many of these findings may have considerable value to others dealing with boys of Scout age, the method used and some of the findings are being made available.

I. Construction of the Interest Inventory. For the purposes of this study, a special Interest Inventory was developed, based on a reasonably adequate selection of interest items for urban boys. To a large extent Scouting interests were included but written in non-Scouting terminology. In the final inventory used there are 122 items in addition to a page of personal information on the religious, educational, and socio-civic background of each boy, and the organizations to which he belonged. The directions and a sample of the inventory are given on page 566.¹

II. Sources of the Subjects. Pupils in three Manhattan grammar schools were used for the 885 non-Scouts studied. Each school was carefully chosen so that a cross section of boys from every socioeconomic level, every religious group, etc., could be included, and the schools were in widely separated geographic areas.

As far as possible, the 843 Scout subjects were drawn from troops meeting in the general neighborhood of each of the schools so that comparable populations could be obtained.

III. Method of Administration. Because of the large number of subjects required, special assemblies were convened and several hun-

¹ Copies of the complete inventory may be procured from Boy Scouts of America, 2 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

differences between the results for Scouts and non-Scouts regarding the number marking the item "Like."² Twenty-four of the 49 items were those which receive varying emphasis as activities in the Scout program. Scouts exceeded non-Scouts significantly in the proportion marking these items "Like." Typical of these were items such as overnight camping, craftwork with leather, campfire stunts, cooking over a fire out-of-doors, and building a shelter in the woods.

These data seem to warrant the assumption that items describing Scout activities will discriminate Scout groups from non-Scout groups. There is more than a suggestion that the instrument may possess predictive value in this respect. In interpreting the difference in the reactions of Scouts and non-Scouts to these items, it must be borne in mind that opportunity to participate in or to become familiar with these activities as described in the inventory is weighted heavily in favor of the Scouts by virtue of their experiences as members of the movement. It is difficult, if not impossible, to know what different results would have been obtained if this factor had been controlled. Exposure of individuals to new things often creates interests that did not exist previously.

There were six items on which the proportion of non-Scouts marking the item "Like" exceeded significantly the proportion of Scouts. These items were boxing, handling horses, swapping things with other boys, talking with parents, learning about history and use of the flag, and taking machinery apart. This group of items does not seem to display any peculiar characteristic that would throw light on such a result. Only one item describes an activity involving dealing with persons (talking with parents), the remainder being activities of a manipulative or nonsocial character.

There are nineteen items which are not considered as being descriptive of Scouting activities, but on which the number of Scouts marking the items "Like" was significantly greater than that of the

² A statistically reliable difference was considered as one in which the difference divided by the standard error of the difference was 3.00 or greater.

non-Scouts Typical of these were club meetings, singing in a group, refreshments at a club meeting, and playing games against other clubs. Twelve of the nineteen items describe activities that can be considered as being social.

These data might well lead to the conclusion that the Scout group is more preponderantly interested in social activities than the non-Scout group. To what extent this is due to the alleged "socializing value" of Scouting itself or whether a selective factor operates in that the Scout program attracts boys who have a predisposition for this type of group activity, whether it be Scouting, parties, school clubs, and so forth, cannot be concluded from this study.

With respect to items describing activities liked least by both Scouts and non-Scouts, there was agreement in order of magnitude on the first eight. The non-Scouts rated campfire stunts as being fourth in order of being disliked, while this item does not appear on a list of 26 most disliked by Scouts. The seven items showing greatest dislike by Scouts and non-Scouts were watching wild birds, mechanical puzzles, craftwork in leather, left to one's self, writing a theme, gathering rocks, and singing in a group.

Changes of interest with increase of age were also studied and carefully graphed. This led to the discovery of two interesting facts:

1. A difference between the two groups on any particular item at age twelve tends to persist at each of the other age levels. This fact points to the essential comparability of the sample populations and tends to show that components of these populations are relatively independent of one another.

2. Many of the items at age fifteen show a special and unpredictable shift, tending to indicate that at this age there is a marked decrease in the interests measured by this inventory. This would appear to have important educational implications, and therefore should be subjected to more thorough study.

The most important conclusions growing out of this study relate to the kind of instrument to be used in future interest studies among

adolescent groups. Instruments must be devised which will adequately control the factor of opportunity for participation and at the same time make provision for measuring the extent to which an interest has actually been displayed.

Because experience with our present inventory has demonstrated the weakness of the simple questionnaire approach to the measurement of adolescent interests, a new type of attack is now under consideration.

It is our plan to relate adolescent boy interests to actual life situations, which boys may reasonably encounter, by means of short, well-written paragraphs in story form describing various adolescent activities and relationships. In this way we hope to get more meaningful responses than those obtained in this study

SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS AVAILABLE

Complete sets of *Social Science Abstracts* for the four years from 1929 to 1932, inclusive, during which it was published, may be obtained from the Social Science Research Council upon payment of express and handling charges. These charges, to be paid at the time the request is made, amount to \$1.00 anywhere in the United States except California, Oregon, and Washington, where the amount will be \$1.50. For Canada, the charge will be \$3.00, and for other foreign countries, \$4.00. Communications should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. This offer is available until December 1940.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed

FACT FINDING OF THE AMERICAN YOUTH COMMISSION¹

"Recent social and economic changes in the United States have given rise to difficulties in the care and education of young people with which existing institutions are quite unprepared to deal adequately. The changes not only have greatly intensified the problems which confront the schools, but also have created an urgent need of protection and further education for millions of youth whom the schools are not now reaching. Without some provision for basic planning to meet this situation, there is serious danger that present conditions may constitute a fundamental threat to the national welfare. It is believed that both the public and the great majority of workers interested in this field are deeply conscious of this danger, and would welcome a comprehensive and thoughtfully conceived program for meeting it."

In these terms, the American Council on Education, a nongovernmental organization composed of major national educational associations and institutions, in 1935, called attention to the need for a nationwide study of the problems of American youth. Subsequently, the Council formed the American Youth Commission, whose closely related functional steps are to:

1. Consider all the needs of youth and appraise the facilities and resources for serving those needs; that is, gather facts
2. Plan experiments and programs which seem to be most effective in solving the problems of youth; that is, experiment and prepare recommendations
3. Popularize and promote desirable plans of action through conferences, publications, and demonstrations; that is, get something done about its recommendations

¹ A statement prepared by the American Youth Commission, 744 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The program of fact-finding has been substantially carried out through the studies and research projects which have been conducted during the last three years. Major sampling surveys have been completed in Maryland, including Baltimore, a large city; Dallas, Texas, a medium-sized city; and Muncie, Indiana, a small city. Data have been secured by trained interviewers from more than 20,000 young people on such matters as education, employment, recreation, and the attitudes of youth toward war, wages, voting, relief, religion, and the like. An inventory of 23,000 oncoming youth was made in Pennsylvania, special attention being given to their aims, personality qualifications, and preparation. Because Maryland was regarded as a nationally representative State, the findings in that study have been published in *Youth Tell Their Story*, and made available to the public.

Among the research studies of the staff are: one identifying 330 national, nongovernmental agencies attempting to work with young people, another giving detailed annotations on the literature of youth problems, and a third reviewing 186 surveys of young people conducted in all parts of the country. Results of these studies have been published under the titles of *Youth-serving Organizations*, *American Youth*, and *Surveys of Youth: Finding the Facts*, respectively. Under the title of *How Fare American Youth?* the director and staff prepared a preliminary book on the problems of youth. Three commission reports have been printed for the second time.

Specialists have prepared monographs for the commission's consideration on secondary education, occupational adjustment of youth, education for citizenship, implications of population trends for national support of education, and education for family living. The first of these has been published under the title of *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America*, and the last two will be published soon. Representatives of the commission have made trips to England, and European countries, to study vocational and technical education, and to observe the programs in the labor service camps.

An extended inquiry into the social and educational aspects of the Civilian Conservation Corps has been completed and a report probably will be available in 1940. It will also contain health data on approximately 10,000 enrollees. A study of the effect of minority racial status upon the personality development of Negro youth was concluded in 1939. Although rural youth have been considered along with other young people, their

status is such that a special associate with assistants has been devoting full time since January 1938 to their problems. Health records of nearly 5,000 college students have been examined, and the services for meeting the needs in the colleges evaluated. Community programs for serving the needs of youth are being studied. Meantime, commission staff members have released an instructive pamphlet on *How to Make a Community Youth Survey*. Although adults are said to be responsible for the leadership of most youth organizations, many others are led by youth themselves, and the commission is now studying these in an attempt to interpret the motives and purposes of the groups, and also to inquire into their democratic functioning relative to membership, leadership, and programs.

Naturally, the commission has also been working on the other two steps in its program. Publication of fact-finding studies means that promotional activities are already started. The monthly *Bulletin* of the commission carries news of studies and other information to 4,000 libraries, schools, social agencies, and individuals. About thirty articles a year are now written by staff members for magazines and professional journals. *Life* magazine devoted one whole issue to the problems of youth, based on *Youth Tell Their Story*. In one quarter of 1938 members of the commission and the staff gave 57 talks before many types and sizes of groups, including national radio audiences. As the program evolves, the promotional activities will expand.

Experimental projects in guidance, placement, and occupational adjustment of young workers are now being conducted in coöperation with the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor. Schools, industry, and social-welfare groups are participating in city experiments in Baltimore, St. Louis, Providence, and Dallas, and rural experiments in Frederick and Carroll counties, Maryland, and in St. Charles county, Missouri.

In addition to the interim or special staff reports already mentioned, the commission will release its own recommendations late in 1940.

A NEW STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Stanley P. Davies, executive director of the Community Service Society of New York, has announced the appointment of a committee on youth and justice, headed by John D. Rockefeller 3d, to study the problems of juvenile delinquency with particular reference to crime prevention and the promotion of new ideas, methods, and treatment.

The executive staff of the committee includes Leonard V. Harrison, former director of the Bureau of Social Hygiene; George M. Hallwachs, director of the society's bureau for men and boys; and Jack H. Stupe, who has been in charge of delinquency work for the Charity Organization Society. Other members include Edward L. Richards, Danforth Geer, Jr., and André Maximov.

The Community Service Society is a family-welfare agency in New York which has created the committee on youth and justice because of its belief that delinquency in its origin is essentially a family problem. Thus it seems that the committee at the start is more or less committed to a particularistic theory as to the causation of delinquency.

THE CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH BULLETIN

The *Bulletin of Criminological Research* was originated in 1930 by Dr. Thorsten Sellin and the first five issues were published by the Bureau of Social Hygiene, Incorporated. After the discontinuance of the Bureau of Social Hygiene the 1936 and 1937 issues of the *Bulletin* appeared in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. The *Bulletin* covering material for 1938, which was edited by J. P. Shalloo of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania, was published in 1939 for the Committee on Criminal Statistics of the American Prison Association under the presidency of Austin H. MacCormick, formerly commissioner of the Department of Correction of New York City.

The most recent *Bulletin* (VIII) eliminates all new projects reported which are not strictly criminological in character, such as research with backward children, or noncriminological researches being carried on in hospitals for the mentally ill. Many projects carried on in prisons were likewise rejected because the nature of the research was such that any other group than prisoners might have served as subjects of the investigation. Projects have been grouped into eight sections or subsections in order to facilitate the use of the list as follows: general, criminal statistics, causation, police organization and administration, the law, procedure, the administration of justice, and penal treatment in institutions on probation and parole and the effectiveness of such treatment. Under each of these general headings the projects are classified as to whether they are new projects or follow-up projects already mentioned in *Criminological Research Bulletins I to VII*.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Path I Trod, The Autobiography of Terence V Powderly, edited by HARRY J. CARMAN, HENRY DAVID, and PAUL N. GUTHRIE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, xiv + 460 pages.

Terence V. Powderly was Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor during a good portion of the life span of that now defunct labor union. *The Path I Trod* is more than Powderly's justification of his life and work. As a self-revealing portrait of a man and his times the volume is an important addition to the source literature of American labor history. *The Path I Trod* may rightly claim space next to Samuel Gompers's *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* in the library of every student of labor problems in America.

Education on the Air, Tenth Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio, edited by JOSEPHINE H. MACLATCHY. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1939.

This *Yearbook* is the tenth one read by this reviewer. He has also attended some of the Institutes. The volume, therefore, may appear to him in a different light from that in which a reviewer might see it as an isolated volume.

At the first Institute I attended the representatives of broadcasting companies and the school people were falling just short of hurling rocks at each other in what had become a traditional civil war. According to this volume the war is over. That is good because each side was both right and wrong.

The papers and discussions in the Tenth Yearbook show the results of a maturing social agency. Broadcasting is growing up. Educators are beginning to learn that not all education is adapted to radio and that valid radio techniques are essential to successful education by radio. The futile crying of helpless infants is no longer heard. The exasperating irritations of adolescent childhood are seldom in view. The subject matter proves these things. Educational radio is developing a pattern. Public opinion, adult education, general education, agricultural broadcasts, research, school and educational broadcasts, and recordings cover nearly all of the report. Within this developing pattern there is, and should continue to be, a variety of progress. Diversity within the limits of valid patterns is a virtue. It fits America. It fits a dynamic society.

Every one interested in radio as a great social agency, and educators zealous of their comprehensive social usefulness, should possess and study all ten volumes of *Education on the Air*. It would mightily help us all if some competent analyst and interpreter would write one short volume to tell us the important story to be found in the series. It would be a story of natural growth and progress.

Man Against Madness, by LOWELL S. SELLING. New York: Greenberg, Publisher, Inc., 1940, 342 pages.

Here is a splendid book in which the story of man's battle against insanity is told in a dramatic way. The story develops out of the life and work of the men and women who were largely responsible for the progress that has been made in the care of the mentally ill.

While the early Greek physicians had developed a cure for certain forms of madness, this knowledge seems to have been lost to society for more than a thousand years. The work of Galen, the Greek physician who labored in Rome, will seem quite modern to many. Da Vinci and others of the Renaissance Period tried to probe the secrets of madness. The modern human attitude toward the mentally afflicted was born in the midst of the French Revolution. The name of Pinel looms large in the early development of a humane attitude. Dorothea Dix played an important role in the development of public opinion and state support for the insane in our own country. Other names that loom large in the promotion of the modern science of psychiatry are Broca, Claude Bernard, Hughlings Jackson, Brown-Séquard, Charcot, Griesinger, Kraepelin, and Freud.

This book should be read by every student of sociology, as there is no better statement of the attitude of social responsibility in the care of the insane. The contrast between the newer point of view and the older, which unfortunately still exists in many quarters, is both instructive and informative.

Training for the Job, by FRANK ERNEST HILL. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1940, 160 pages.

Current activities in adult vocational education and guidance are described here in nontechnical language and in readable style. Out-of-school youth are included in the definition of "adult."

One of the series of studies on the social significance of adult education,

the book includes a generous measure of common-sense appraisal and suggestion. After noting the activities of the CCC and NYA, the author concludes that "it is from our school systems that we should and can expect most; in proportion to their possibilities, they have the greatest opportunity for accomplishment and they have done least. With a great need before them demanding a new spirit and new methods, they have clung in the main to their traditional ways."

He suggests that our present program neglects the unemployed and untrained while favoring those who have jobs. He notes but does not emphasize that this is partly because of Federal taxation and subsidy with its inevitable restrictions upon local adaptation and initiative. He recommends more Federal taxation and distribution of public money to induce States and municipalities to do what some of them could not, and others would not, do alone; viz., provide more vocational training of adults at the expense of the public.

The author has traveled extensively and recently to collect his material. The result is a concise and interesting story which can be highly recommended to all who are interested in the subject.

A Girl Grows Up, by RUTH FEDDER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1939, 235 pages.

This book is written for the teen-age girl. It answers many questions about growing up that the adolescent girl finds puzzling. These same problems have been confronting adults who work, play, or live with adolescents. Here is material that should interest both groups for it answers the thousands of questions about behavior that puzzle us all. The "teen" girl wants an answer, while parents, teachers, and group leaders would like to answer those questions. Miss Fedder does answer them out of her wide experience. "What does it mean to grow up?" "What is life all about anyway?" These problems and many more are handled with an intelligent understanding of the growing girl.

The problems of emotional maturity and personality development are dealt with, while family relationship, boy and girl relationships are discussed. The treatment of the material is handled in such a way as to give information about fundamentals of behavior so that the individual may grow in her ability to judge behavior. The author uses no technical psychological terminology. However, the book is based upon sound knowledge of the psychology of behavior.

Black Folk Then and Now, by W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939, 401 pages

This book is a treatment of the history and sociology of the Negro race in Africa. It is designed to assist in bringing about an understanding of the background and culture of one of our important minority groups.

If an eminent Negro leader's statement, "The greatest need of Negroes is a good dose of ancestry," is true, this book should go a long way to developing in the Negro a clear-cut understanding of his own importance among the races of the world. It should also help to explode the myth of racial superiority so dominant in some of the groups. It is a book worth careful reading and much thought.

The concluding chapter, *Future of World Democracy*, is a helpful contribution by this great Negro leader in stressing the necessity of racial understanding and good will as a foundation for democracy.

The American Educational System by JOHN DALE RUSSELL and CHARLES H. JUDD. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, xvi + 554 pages.

This volume is designed for and will serve most effectively as a text in an introduction or orientation course in education. The authors have clearly and concisely described and briefly analyzed the American educational system as it is today. They likewise review the factors which have in varying degree been influential in determining present forms of organization, content and methods of instruction, and control of education.

The volume serves well in providing the student with a rapid overview of the major characteristics of the current educational system in the United States and intimates the probable trends of change in the near future.

Psychology in Education, by HERBERT SORENSON. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940, 489 pages.

This elementary text for a first course in educational psychology compares more than favorably with the numerous similar books in the field. Because of its comprehensiveness it suffers from the attenuation which now seems in vogue. However, the topical exposition is effective and there are commendable economy and concreteness in language.

This text reflects well the trend which emphasizes the inclusive personality in its total educational setting, and which stresses the concepts of growth, development, and adjustment in a dynamic and functional way. The book proceeds through chapters on physical, social, and emotional growth to a consideration of adjustment and mental health applications. The inevitable units on intelligence, learning, heredity and environment, mental growth, efficiency, motivation, transfer, measuring achievement, and the like, are worked into the structure of the volume. The distinction lies in the discriminating handling of the content. There are directions for study beginning each chapter, a useful glossary is given, and exercises and references are provided.

Race: Science and Politics, by RUTH BENEDICT. New York: Modern Age Books, 1940, 274 pages.

Miss Benedict has done an excellent job of presenting in a readable, nontechnical style the present status of the concept of race. The anthropological data relating to the problem of race is thorough enough to give a good orientation to even a layman. Her position is that race is a valid concept, but that racism is a menace to society. Her distinction is well taken and makes a valuable frame of reference from which to view the whole problem of race relationships. Her concept is that racism is an outgrowth of the old formula. "I belong to the elect."

While Miss Benedict presents in a noncontroversial manner the anthropological data relating to race, one cannot be so sure that she approaches the problem of racism with a similar unbiased attitude. Her notion that racism grows out of the despair of hard living conditions does not seem to tell the whole story; too many groups have lived under difficult conditions without being chauvinistic. The element of ethnocentrism does not enter race relations until such time as racial contacts make groups conscious of themselves as contrasted to other selves (out groups).

One must agree with Miss Benedict that racism has replaced the old religious basis of persecution and is all the more iniquitous because it has evoked as its aid "a bastard version of contemporary science." One must also agree that to understand racial conflict we need to understand conflict and not race. Her challenge to education and democracy should be sufficient to make the most complacent educator squirm in his seat. The book is highly worth while and should be on every educator's bookshelf.

Love at the Threshold, by FRANCES BRUCE STRAIN. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939, 336 pages.

This is the third book Mrs Strain has contributed to the pertinent problems of young men and women. In this volume she has pulled together the most complete, all inclusive lot of "concerns" yet organized. The unity and relation of the facts are woven in an effective, practical design for general use. All of the ideas and panaceas heretofore offered to young people are soundly oriented in working relationships. This is done in a sincere, frank, scientific manner.

While the fundamental values of life are consistently maintained the tone of the book constantly reflects adventure, beauty, and the joy of natural human drives. The association of boys and girls is developed simply yet dramatically from the early natural relationships to the richer, fuller meanings of happiness and love. The "dating" years are discussed from the points of view of both boys and girls. Romance is developed from the first conceptions of love through the mature stages of deep relationships. The love life is treated with genuine feeling and keen understanding of its fragile yet basic qualities. The latter part of the book is given over to marriage, body mechanisms, biological fulfillment, the birth of a baby, and some sex education for children.

Boys and girls, parents and teachers welcome this fresh reassurance that beauty, purpose, and satisfaction are found in wholesome human relationships.

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EDITORIAL

The articles in this issue are the papers to be read at the annual December meetings of the Educational Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society to be held in Chicago, December 27 and 28.

The first meeting will be a discussion of the Social Life of the Child. The first paper presents a general conceptual analysis of the importance of status, both that into which the child is born and that which is acquired as a result of changing relationships, in the development of the individual. Using the term "culture" rather than "status" the second article concretely illustrates these concepts in the growth of the young child. The third article, though summarizing the research studies in the field, applies the same conceptual analysis to the adolescent.

In the first number of this JOURNAL, Dean Payne challenged the highly individualistic approach to the fields of childhood and of education. In the intervening years this individualistic child-centered approach reached the zenith of its popularity in such books as *The New Psychology for Parents* and *The Child-Centered School*. As the present writer has pointed out elsewhere,¹ the shift to a re-orientation of child study and of education in terms of the total

¹ Francis J. Brown, *The Sociology of Childhood* (New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939)

social milieu of the individual has been gradual but consistent. It is extremely interesting to note that psychology and even psychiatry has now recognized that to study the individual apart from his social context provides very little basis for the development of a constructive program of child guidance and of education.

There is some danger that, in the midst of international crises, the pendulum will swing too far. As the writers of these articles forcefully point out, the two concepts—self-expression and authority (the individual and the group)—are not antithetical but correlative and interdependent. In the recognition of this fact lies the hope of democracy.

The second meeting will be a joint session of the Rural Sociological Society and the Educational Sociology Section. Only one paper will be presented, followed by a panel discussion. Unfortunately, space does not permit the printing of the comments on the papers by those who will participate in the panel.

A period of emergency brings a serious challenge to existing social institutions. This is as true of the present as of any previous emergencies and, in many respects, will call for even more thoughtful consideration of desirable changes if the responsibility for determining the degree and the direction of such change is not to be wrested from educators. On the other hand the present emergency clearly demonstrates that no institution can modify its program or services independently of the community in which it exists and for the service of which it is maintained.

In the basic principles which he has stated and the illustrations given, the author has presented a fundamental approach to the problem of school-community relationships.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

THE GROUP LIFE OF THE ADOLESCENT

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The group life of the adolescent is a subject which has received less attention from research workers than its intrinsic importance merits. However, since Sheldon¹ with inadequate methods opened up the subject some forty years ago, there has been a thin but steady stream of research on the subject. It is not the purpose of the present paper to summarize these studies in detail. After all, such summaries are readily available in the *Child Development Abstracts* and other handy sources. Rather the present purpose is to point out a certain general trend in this research which must be appreciated in order properly to evaluate the mass of research as a whole.

The general trend just referred to is the tendency to study the adolescent less as an individual and more as a member of a culture group. The swing seems to be away from the exclusively psychological viewpoint to one which is more sociological. The explanation of group behavior is being sought less in the individual himself and more in the behavior patterns transmitted by his culture.

Before developing these points it is well to define terms. By *adolescence* we mean the period from puberty to maturity. By *puberty* we mean the point of time at which the child becomes physically capable of begetting or bearing children. These definitions are important because some writers have used the terms loosely since Stanley Hall arbitrarily stated that adolescence began at twelve. By *group life* we mean all activities carried on by three or more children in common. This definition excludes the literature on friendships and intersexual love. It includes all the studies bearing on group life, whether the groups are spontaneously formed by the children themselves or imposed on them by adults. It is rather obvious, how-

¹H. D. Sheldon "The Institutional Activities of American Children," *American Journal of Psychology*, IX (1898), 425-428.

ever, that the former type is of more theoretical interest. One is more interested in learning what the children do for themselves than what grownups do for them

As stated above, the older literature was prevailingly psychological. This does not mean that all the techniques employed were exclusively psychological in a strict and narrow sense. As a matter of fact, a mass of facts was accumulated about group life, facts which might be classified as sociological rather than psychological data. The point is rather that the dominant viewpoint was that of the social psychologist who seeks to explain societal phenomena in terms of individual behavior and motivation rather than that of the sociologist to whom group life is a thing in itself deserving of study for its own sake, whatever may be the character of the individuals making up the group.

For example when the present writer³ set out to study a boys' gang a decade and a half ago, the technique used was the careful psychological study of each individual member. Tests were administered. Each member's behavior was studied with a view to discovering his motivation and his underlying personality patterns. Each boy was seen in his home environment and his reaction to that background was studied. The underlying thought was, I suppose, that if one could learn as much as possible about each member, an understanding of the gang phenomenon itself would emerge

This same viewpoint is equally clear in Puffer's⁴ still older study. Puffer relied on interviews with boys who told him about their gang activities. Thrasher⁵ used a somewhat different approach; but his underlying viewpoint seems to have been similar. He used observation, interviews, life-history documents, even newspaper clippings to accumulate a vast amount of material on gangs, their growth

³ Paul H. Furfey, *The Gang Age* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), chap. X, "The Gang." As a matter of fact the gang in question was a preadolescent gang in the strict sense above defined.

⁴ J. A. Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912).

⁵ Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang, a Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927).

and development, their make-up, their activities, and their delinquencies. His unit of observation, therefore, was the gang itself, at least in some instances, rather than the individual gang member. But fundamentally his approach was psychological. Although he considered the gang habitat, his primary interest seems to have been in the behavior of the gang and in the individual motivation which determined this behavior. This is typically a psychologist's viewpoint.

Dimock⁵ exemplifies the same approach in a much more recent study. This investigator studied the cohesiveness of adolescent groups by means of a friendship index, that is to say, by determining from a friendship record the proportion of a boy's best friends who appear within a given group. The more the group tends to contain within itself the members' best friends, the more cohesive it is. With such an index in hand, Dimock was able to study the relation between group cohesiveness and such factors as age of members, size of group, socio-economic status, homogeneity of membership, social adjustment, and the participation and persistence of members. Again, the viewpoint is psychological.

The techniques illustrated by the above studies and by a great many similar ones has been, on the whole, very fruitful. A vast amount of material has been gathered on the phenomena of adolescent group life. Although much remains to be discovered, particularly about girls' groups, much solid research has been accomplished. We know now a good deal about the groups which adolescents form, particularly when these groups take the form of delinquent gangs. We know how these groups are formed, how they occupy themselves, how long they persist. We know something about their methods of organization and their leadership. We know how the members tend to resemble one another in intelligence, nationality, socio-economic status, school placement, and place of residence.

The psychological approach has been a fruitful one. It has proved

⁵ H. S. Dimock, *Rediscovering the Adolescent* (New York, Association Press, 1937)

its worth by the mass of data assembled. Yet it has one great weakness. It does not wholly explain the particular forms which adolescent group life takes. It reveals the conditions of group life, but not the causes. It discovers the role of such factors as age and homogeneity of membership in the group; but it does not explain the particular series of behavior patterns which characterize adolescent group life here and now.

Therefore, there have been a number of indications that the purely psychological approach as above described is not satisfactory as an exclusive method of research for the problem in hand. The first of these indications comes from psychology itself. A generation ago a psychologist might have been naive enough to explain group life in terms of a hypothetical "gregarious instinct." But the postwar years have been hard on the instinct theory. Careful psychological research has demonstrated that in human beings there are no very complicated unlearned behavior patterns. In the animal kingdom as a whole such genuine instincts are not uncommon. Many animals do indeed repeat the same behavior, generation after generation, without any opportunity to acquire it by learning.⁶ But instinctive behavior is minimal among human beings. Learning is so important in human behavior that it plays a dominant part in all but the simplest reflex and impulsive behavior. Today certainly no reputable psychologist would dare to explain behavior as complicated as adolescent group life in terms of instinct.

If group life is learned and not instinctive, then we must turn for our explanation to the study of the conditions under which this behavior is learned and the emphasis shifts from the purely psychological study of the individual adolescent to the more sociological study of the circumambient social conditions. A primary contribution in this connection has been made by the anthropologists. The anthropologist has before him a wide range of societal data, a much

⁶ For a particularly clear example see Fabre's study of *Cerambyx miles*, discussed in the present writer's *Gang Age*, pp. 28-29.

wider range than that of the sociologist whose field of investigation is restricted to our western civilization. The anthropologist then can scarcely fail to realize that human association can take a very wide variety of forms and that these forms cannot be explained in terms of the individual alone. Rather they must be explained in terms of what the anthropologist calls *culture*, that is to say, the sum total of those traditions, behavior patterns, techniques, and beliefs which can be handed on from one generation to another or from one tribe to a neighboring tribe.

It takes little imagination to see the bearing of all this on our present problem of adolescent group behavior. The inner psychological characteristics of the individual may indeed explain his capacity for group life, but the particular forms which this group life takes are learned; they are part of the cultural heritage which the adolescent receives from the society in which he lives. Among the Masai, for example, all the boys circumcised during the same quadrennium form a unified group. The status so attained looms very large in the adolescent's life; it has important bearing, for example, on their sexual relations. Mead¹ reports that in Samoa, due to certain factors which she details, association based upon age has ceased among girls by the beginning of the adolescent period, while among boys association based on the age principle lasts not only throughout adolescence, but throughout life.

It would not be difficult to multiply instances; but the general principle must be already clear. The laws of association are determined only in a very minor degree by the whim of the individual. To a much greater degree they are imposed on him by his culture. A Samoan boy associates with his own age group. A Samoan girl does not. This is not due to some strange quirk of Samoan psychology. It is definitely due to certain customs, that is to say, to Samoan culture.

¹ M. Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1928), chap. V.

in the anthropological sense. Is this also true in some degree in our own American civilization?

A great deal of light has been thrown on this question by studies in human ecology. For example, Shaw and McKay,³ studying the distribution of delinquency in Chicago, were struck by the fact that delinquency showed a definite ecological distribution and that this pattern persisted through generation after generation of delinquents. They found the explanation of this persistence in the survival of neighborhood traditions of delinquency. Evidently delinquency, a characteristic pattern of adolescent group behavior, was a traditional thing in certain areas. Borrowing the anthropologists' terminology, we might say that adolescent delinquency is a definite part of the culture pattern of certain neighborhoods. It does not, of course, have the formal sanction of the neighborhood group as a whole; yet it is very definitely there. It would not be a gross exaggeration to say that a boy living in one of these areas consorts with a delinquent gang for the same reason that a Masai boy consorts with the other members of his quadrennium group. In either case the boy is adopting a behavior pattern from the culture in which he has been reared. The work of Shaw and McKay is concentrated, of course, on only one type of adolescent group behavior, namely, delinquency; but further research will undoubtedly show that less antisocial behavior is equally influenced by local culture types. Indeed this may almost be said to be a fact of common observation.

Ecological areas have their characteristic forms of group behavior. May not the same be said of the various socio-economic classes? Do not they also have their characteristic cultures? Some light is thrown on this by Sutherland⁴ in his work on white-collar criminality. This

³ C. R. Shaw and H. D. McKay, *Social Factors in Delinquency, a Study of the Community, the Family, and the Gang in Relation to Delinquent Behavior* (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1931, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement), Report on the Causes of Crime, Vol. II.

⁴ E. H. Sutherland, "White Collar Criminality," *American Sociological Review*, V (1940), 1-12.

writer has pointed out that many of the generalizations of criminologists are invalid because they were based on the study of a biased sample from which the white-collar criminal was almost entirely omitted. That is to say, they were based on the run of the courts, while the white-collar group, on account of the advantageous position which they occupy in our present society, are usually able to avoid appearance in court even when they behave antisocially. He feels that it is misleading to place too much emphasis on psychopathic personality as a cause of crime. Psychopathy indeed plays its part; but cultural patterns are also important, probably more important. To put it bluntly, the poor and underprivileged have evolved one pattern of criminal behavior and they land in court. The rich and privileged have evolved another and perhaps a much more pernicious pattern but they usually go unpunished. When we realize that criminality is largely adolescent group behavior we can see the bearing of these facts on the problem in hand.

Still other culture patterns exist within our American civilization besides those based on ecological areas and socio-economic classes. One of the most important series of these has race as a basis. Dollard¹⁰ and Powdermaker¹¹ both studied a southern community, said to be a town in the Mississippi Delta. Interestingly enough they both used anthropological methods, Dr. Powdermaker quite frankly so. Both were interested in Negro life as affected by his cultural environment. "An effort has been made in this book," says Dr. Powdermaker, "to view a unit of southern American culture in terms of human beings who have inherited a historical situation and whose personalities are being constantly affected by the culture in which they live."¹² One has only to read these reports to realize at how many points the situation of the Negro adolescent, as imposed on him by southern culture patterns, affects his group life. First of all there is the taboo

¹⁰ J. Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937)

¹¹ H. Powdermaker, *After Freedom, a Cultural Study of the Deep South* (New York: Viking Press, 1939)

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. ix

on interracial social relationships which makes adolescent groups rigidly racial. Race segregation of opportunity and the Negro's inferior economic position are other limiting factors. The pattern of Negro culture itself further complicates the situation. Each race has its own scheme of family life. The church plays a different role in the Negro's life and here again there is a difference between the church's influence on the adolescent and his elders, the hold of the church being weaker in the case of the former than in the case of the latter. It would evidently be beside the point to study the group life of the Negro adolescent on a rigidly psychological basis and to leave these enormously important social factors out of consideration.

Even within one racial group there are extremely significant cultural differences. This point is brought out by some work which is being done by members of my own department in the study of the Washington alley culture.¹³ The Negroes who live in the inhabited alleys of Washington present a culture which is as distinct from that of the other Negroes of the city as the latter is from the standard American white culture. The explanation seems to be that the alley dwellers came to the city from certain backwoods islands of cultural retardation which have in part preserved an older type of general American culture and in part have developed culture patterns of their own. Be that as it may, the alley dwellers have very distinctive habits of their own. The family is closely knit and prevailingly matriarchal. Recreation tends to be familial. That is to say, the adolescents do not tend to form a segregated group with their own mores as they tend to do in our standard American culture. A social evening will include the whole family as participants from the oldest grandparent down to the tiniest moppet. The society is largely non-competitive. This means, for example, that team games and competitive sports in general play a very small part in adolescent group life. Cooperation looms correspondingly large. To get a job while one's fellows are jobless does not bring prestige. Rather the adoles-

¹³ See G. Sellew, *A Deviant Social Situation* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University, 1938).

cent is expected to share his good luck, if that is possible and of course it was often possible, in the simple agricultural society in which this culture developed. These children have an extraordinary physical courage and adolescent life is rough, virile, and adventurous. Alley dwellers meet unfair discrimination in law-enforcement agencies and their attitude toward the police is naturally hostile. Finally, relations between adolescents of the two sexes is regulated by a looser code of sex mores than in most other groups.

Examples might be multiplied, but enough has been said to show that the group life of adolescents must be studied with cultural factors, as well as purely psychological factors, in mind. In conclusion, it may be well to draw a moral from these facts. The moral to be drawn embraces two generalizations.

The first generalization affects the research worker. We ought to learn from the anthropologist. Investigators who have worked with primitive tribes have developed a technique in which culture looms large. To the trained anthropologist culture is a very definite thing. It has its own laws and the anthropologist knows how to study it in relation to those laws. It is easy to sense culture traits in a primitive culture so different from our own. They force themselves on the investigator's attention by their apparent strangeness. It is less easy to notice them in our own civilization because we have grown up with them and easily take them for granted. It is probably not hard for a visitor to observe the workings of the caste system in India, but when Dollard talks of caste in Southerntown, we listen with a sort of shock. Yet Dollard is demonstrably right. We have our own American culture traits and they vary from area to area, from class to class, and from race to race. If we overlook the enormous significance of these cultural elements we are simply being unrealistic.

A second generalization is based on the essential modifiability of culture. Purely psychological traits like intelligence are largely in-born and are hard to change, although not as hard as we believed a few years ago. But culture patterns are learned and they can be

unlearned. This ought to be encouraging to social reformers. For example, if delinquency is largely cultural, it is for that reason largely modifiable.

At this point a word of warning is in order. Culture traits are subject to modification, but only if they are treated as culture traits. If we study a delinquent adolescent and decide that his delinquency is a learned reaction, then it can be changed; but it cannot be changed merely by psychiatric prestidigitation. It can only be changed by changing the culture in which the delinquent remains. At least that is the only permanent and satisfactory solution. This is a fact which group workers have appreciated sooner than most social workers. It is a point also which the dictators of totalitarian countries have been only too quick to grasp. Interpreted in the light of culture the youth organizations of these countries represent a quite successful attempt to graft upon adolescent group life the ideological cultures which these dictatorships represent.

One further point. We must not, like the dictators, be too ready to crush out the divergent cultures which form a part of the American scene. For example, many people might be tempted to look upon the Washington alley culture as a thoroughly bad one, deserving of nothing but extermination. It is indeed true that delinquency flourishes in these alleys and that sex standards are low. But it is equally true that there is something very fine about the physical courage of these children and their amiable willingness to cooperate. These are qualities which America needs. We ought not to try to use our standard American culture like a steamroller to level out all cultural differences. Rather, as we try to remedy the defects of these divergent cultures, we ought at the same time to try to learn from them. To do so will be to enrich our American life.

GROUP LIFE OF THE YOUNG CHILD

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Most children are born into a group—the family—and they spend a large proportion of their lives in this and other groups: play, neighborhood, school groups, clubs, etc. The child's interactions as he seeks security, recognition, and response within these groups tend to determine, in large measure, his behavior and attitudes both as a child and as an adult. Group life is a determinant of the individual's behavior and attitudes

Group life is, however, more than that. Now that education is evolving away from both subject-matter-centered and child-centered concepts toward a socially oriented concept with emphasis on individual adjustment, *group life, in which there is close interaction between individuals, is becoming recognized as a major means of education*. As later discussion will also indicate, *in the adequate functioning of group experiences lies the essence of our democratic form of life*.

With these facts and trends in mind, there is obviously a need to study the group life of the child more carefully, to determine what some of the unique contributions are of the various groups in which he functions, and to determine how these various groups may best function to make adjusted individuals equipped for a happy democratic living.

WHAT THE FAMILY CONTRIBUTES

Since the family is the first group in which the child lives and functions, his experiences here will have a strong influence on the habits and attitudes with which he approaches other groups

Ability or readiness to feel a part of the group. The most basic

contribution which the family can make is to give the child a readiness to belong or to feel that he is an accepted part of the subsequent groups which he enters.

If the child is truly wanted and accepted by the members of his family, this expectancy of acceptance, this feeling that he belongs, will be established and will tend to carry over to other group contacts. If the child is rejected, either overtly or indirectly, in his own family, he is likely to carry into his next group experiences the resultant tendency to feel an outcast. He is likely to remain an outsider in the group.

Tendency to assume or reject certain roles in the group. As a result of his family experiences, the child approaches his new group with a readiness to assume or reject certain roles. The child who has had a definite and respected, but not too conspicuous, role in the home is likely to make the most flexible and adequate adaptation to new group experiences. The child who has felt like a subordinate in his family—who has had too much direction, too little opportunity to express himself or to have his opinions respected—will most likely feel inadequate in the next group, and will either assume inferior, inadequate roles or will tend to compensate by assuming overassertive, bullying, dictatorial attitudes. The child who has been exploited in the family is likely to enter the new group with the continued expectation that he will receive first consideration and with the feeling that he must stay in the limelight. The child who has experienced strong sibling rivalries in the family will be likely to approach the new group with competitive, hostile attitudes toward the members of the group.

As we shall indicate more fully later, such sets as the above are likely to be accepted by the other members of the group and may predispose the individual to failure within the group unless quickly recognized and properly overcome.

Ability to appreciate and understand people of all kinds. The family, with its associated contacts among relatives, neighbors, and

friends, remains, throughout the period of childhood, the major group in which differences rather than likenesses prevail. In organized groups for young children outside the home we attempt to establish relatively homogeneous groupings. We usually put children together who are of a similar age. Sometimes we segregate into similar sexes. The children themselves, especially in the years just preceding adolescence, tend to establish groupings based on similarities rather than differences.¹

Before the child reaches full maturity, this limited interest in individuals like himself must change. Maturity implies a social orientation. It requires an interest in people *unlike* oneself. So also does a democratic viewpoint necessitate a readiness to be tolerant toward all kinds of individuals, unlikes as well as likes. This interest normally does not become strong before the adolescent period *The potentialities for such an interest, however, are developed during the childhood period.*

The ability to feel with and to be tolerant toward others develops through intimate contacts with individuals of different ages, sexes, interests, and personalities, as these contacts are made within and through the family. A child has more respect for older persons if he has had a grandfather whom he adored. He will be able to feel more sympathy and a greater spirit of kinship with other races if he has shared the poignant grief of a colored servant over a personal loss. Intimacy with others during any periods of great joy or sorrow—during births and during deaths, during moments of great achievement and recognition or of rejection and failure—provides the basis for our adult ability to feel with other human beings, regardless of age, race, economic level, sex, or other differences. This is a function of the family which is too little recognized. It calls for an increased respect for and encouragement of family experiences.

¹ For research evidence on this point and for a condensed, fairly up-to-date survey of research in the field of social development in general, see John E. Anderson, "The Development of Social Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV, No. 6 (1939), 839-857.

WHAT GROUPS OF SIMILAR AGE AND DEVELOPMENT CONTRIBUTE

While the family offers many experiences to the child, which no other group can equal or excel, it needs supplementing. From the time the individual first enters a group outside the home until the time he dies, he is reacting largely with contemporaries—with individuals approximately his own size and age and with approximately his own range of abilities.

The home provides little experience with "equals." At home the child is confronted with parents and with older brothers and sisters, whose sheer size and superior abilities tend to overwhelm and subdue him, or he may be confronted with younger brothers or sisters whom he can forcibly control or with whom he unfairly competes. The dynamics operating in the home are often very different from those which operate in the more homogeneous groups.

While each of the groups which the child enters outside the home—the preschool, the school, the Sunday school, the club—has certain distinctive characteristics of its own, the present space does not permit a separate consideration of each. The following discussion, therefore, strikes at points which are for the most part basic to all of these groups. Illustrations are drawn largely from the preschool area since it seems to the author (1) that the functions to be discussed are usually operating most fully in preschool groups and (2) that the preschool philosophy might in many ways serve as a guide for other child groups.

Stimuli for self-development Children's basic needs tend to have different degrees of importance at different developmental levels. *Security* seems the greatest social need in infancy and in very early childhood. *Self-expression and self-development* become of primary importance between early childhood and adolescence. *Social adjustment* takes the fore during adolescence and adulthood.

The homogeneous group tends to meet the need, which the child has during the intermediate period, for self-expression and develop-

ment. Through contacts with individuals like himself, with whom the child can identify himself, he recognizes and becomes confident in his own abilities. A seven-year-old is more satisfied that he is being his seven-year-oldness when he is with seven-year-olds than when he is with either younger or older individuals. A boy feels that he is more adequately filling a masculine role when he is with boys than when he is with a group of girls.

Ability to understand and willingly accept limitations of the group In such a setting as the home provides it is a Herculean, if not an impossible, task to establish a democratic way of living, with equal rights for all, that the young child can understand. Equal rights means equal rights for the other person as well as for oneself. The rights of thirty-year-old parents are often so outside the scope of experience and understanding of a six-year-old son that the parents who stand up for their own rights must often seem to the child to be imposing arbitrary rules. *The child needs experiences within a group of approximately his own stage of development in order to grasp and willingly to accept the suggestions, criticisms, adjustments, and limitations made necessary by group living.*

One needs only to see how almost miraculously certain of the problems which children present in the home clear up in a preschool group to feel the truth of the above statements. What might seem to be the same technique is quite different when applied by a member of the family and when applied by a contemporary in the school.

When three-year-old Billy cries at home and mother or ten-year-old brother says "You're a cry-baby!" Billy is likely to cry harder than ever, for this is just further evidence that he isn't being understood. When Billy cries at school, and three-year-old Tommy says, "You're a cry-baby!", Billy is likely to bristle up, to wipe his tears, and to assert that this isn't so! The feeling that Tommy is like himself makes it easier to understand and to feel that he is being understood. The standards which Tommy is holding up to him, and which usually are held up to the child in such a group, are essentially

those of "being one's age." They are within the range of Billy's ability. They therefore seem more reasonable. When Billy learns that acceptance of these standards wins him more immediate and complete acceptance within the group, he becomes still more ready to accept them willingly and without grudge.

THE ADULT'S ROLE IN CHILD GROUPS

Need for regulation within the group. While problems of a developmental nature, such as that just described, frequently clear up quickly in a group of peers, problems due to earlier experiences and sets may, without adult help, become aggravated

It has already been stated that children bring to their group experiences with peers a set attitude toward or against the roles which they have held at home. The jealous child may arrive with a feeling of antipathy and rivalry toward every other child in the group. The children individually, and perhaps as a group, not able to understand these attitudes and forms of behavior which transcend their developmental level, are likely to accept these first reactions of the individual as the usual and to-be-expected reactions from him. Once such expectancies are established, the individual gets unbelievable practice in the particular role.²

This is one of the areas in which the adult can play an important part. It leads us to the need for considering the adult's role in the group life of the child in some detail.

Adult role not one of restraint or too direct control. Most of us are agreed, I believe, that if the child's group life is to prepare him for group living, he must be free to interact within that group with a minimum of adult intervention. He must experience for himself the unpleasant as well as the pleasant situations that arise from contacts with other people. We believe that many of these unpleasant situations have much learning value. It is frequently from conflicts, for

² See article by John Anderson in *The Unconscious: A Symposium* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929), p. 260

example, that a recognition of the other person's point of view grows and that the basis for understanding of others develops.

Thus adults who participate in child groups must realize from the start that restraints and guidance grow more soundly out of child-contacts than when imposed by adults. They must realize that their function is not one of restraint, but rather one of freeing the individual child so that he may interact within the group more freely and more happily.

Adults a source of security. Studies have shown that the child's security depends first of all upon his acceptance by adults. Security in the family depends upon adequate relationships with one's parents. Security in the preschool or school group requires first of all the presence of and acceptance by a teacher.

During the period between the preschool period and adolescence—the period when the child is developing and establishing himself as an individual—security comes less and less to depend upon adult relationships and more and more to depend upon one's confidence in one's own abilities. Nevertheless, throughout the period of childhood, the presence of an adult in the background contributes some measure of security to the child. The eleven-year-old may feel this need only when it is not being met. He may not consciously notice the adult when she is there, yet he may miss her when she is gone.

The mere presence of an understanding adult is especially helpful in freeing the shy child from the restraints of fear, anxiety, and uncertainty, and in making it possible for him to function more freely and happily in the group.

The adult should not only recognize that a good relation is necessary between herself and the members of the group, but she must also recognize that different children need different degrees of warmth and intimacy in this relationship. The adult should not be afraid to respond affectionately to the child who is craving affection and love. She is actually helping such a child mature when she

responds. By responding, she may help him loosen the strong attachment which holds him to his home, or she may release him from the tension and inadequate functioning which characterizes many children whose emotional needs are not being met. In either case she is preparing him for a wider field of living.

*Adults a regulative force.*⁵ We have already noted that if children are left entirely alone, many members of the group will suffer. The withdrawn child is likely to become more and more withdrawn. The hostile child is likely to find himself more and more sharply pitted against the group. The child who becomes too emotional and too easily upset by the taunts of others is likely to become the brunt of every one's jokes and to find the group unbearable.

Once the adult has established a mutual feeling of affection with members of the group she can do much to correct such misdirection or misemphasis within the group.

Encouraging development of the individual's abilities. Often a child may be helped to a happier role and relationship within the group if his special abilities or his positive assets are more consciously emphasized and developed. Experimental studies by Jack⁶ and Page⁷ give striking evidence that the submissive child who is lacking in self-confidence may be helped in this way.

The case of Joan and Judith reveals another situation in which encouragement of individual abilities made for better group relationships. Joan and Judith were outstanding leaders in their four-year-old group. Instead of compromising on issues, each would pit herself and her respective followers against the other, and constructive activities would remain at a standstill as each faction informed the other, "We won't play with you!"

⁵ S. R. Slavson, *Character Education in a Democracy* (New York: Association Press, 1939), pp. 12, 226.

⁶ Lois M. Jack, "An Experimental Study of Ascendant Behavior in Preschool Children," *Behavior of the Preschool Child*, pp. 7-65. University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 1934, IX, No. 3.

⁷ Marjorie Lou Page, *The Modification of Ascendant Behavior in Preschool Children*. University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 1936, XII, No. 3, 69 p.

Joan happened to have unusual ability with constructive materials. Judith was not so much interested in materials as in imaginative dramatic play. When the abilities of each of these girls were emphasized and when each began to express her leadership in a special area the harmony and the constructive level of the group reached a new peak.

Guiding group interactions. Group placement of the child is a highly important factor in determining what kind of adjustment he will make. A former President of the American Sociological Association is quoted as saying⁶ that he could take any patient from a mental hospital and by adjusting him in some group cure him. Regardless of the validity of this statement, it has implications worthy of thought.

The grouping of children is a field about which we know all too little and within which research opportunities are great. It involves (1) the consideration of the original groups into which children are placed, (2) the possibility of using subgroups or specific one-to-one relationships within the group as therapeutic devices, and (3) the study of the factors to be considered in all such groupings.

Original group placement, it would seem in general, should be such as to complement or balance the child's position in the home. The following cases illustrate this point of view.

Paul, a three-year-old, was the younger of two children. He had developed strong inferiority feelings and a very dependent attitude as a result of his relationship with his older sister. Paul was entered in a nursery school in which he was the oldest rather than the youngest member of the group. He was soon a strong leader and the most popular child in the school. He gained markedly in confidence and ability during this time.

Later in the same year, because of transportation problems and with no thought as to the composition of the new group, Paul was

⁶ Ethel S. Dummer, *Why I Think So: The Autobiography of an Hypothesis* (Chicago: Clarke McElroy Publishing Company, 1937), p. 274.

moved to a nursery school in which, as in the home, he was the youngest member. For a month he tried to maintain his own. Then he began to slide back into the withdrawing, inactive, unhappy pattern which he had shown when he entered school. The composition of the group seemed a primary factor in bringing about these changes in his case.

Jimmy, another case at point, was the youngest of four boys among whom there were marked rivalry feelings. He was entered in a play group in which competitive activities and a competitive spirit were strong. In this group his rivalry feelings became even greater.

From the play group Jimmy went into a school in which inter-related roles were encouraged and in which *cooperation* rather than competition was stressed. In this environment his rivalry feelings began to decrease. Again, the group which had helped most was the group which led away from the overemphasized attitudes fostered in the home.

Subgroupings, or specifically fostered one-to-one relationships within the group, can often be used to advantage in instances in which original group placement cannot be controlled. In the above cases, for instance, Paul—the boy with the older sister and the marked feelings of inferiority—might to advantage be associated frequently with the younger and the more helpless children in the group. Jimmy—the boy with the older brothers and the strong competitive drive—might to advantage be thrown with children whose abilities complemented rather than paralleled his own.

PRIME ESSENTIAL OF ANY GROUP

Opportunities for self-expression and for interaction between members of the group are the prime essentials of any group. The function just emphasized, *i.e.*, the freeing of the individual for the fullest and the most balanced functioning within the group, is without doubt the greatest role which the adult can fill in the child's

group, for it is this freedom of expression and interaction between group members that makes the group an effective educational device and a sound training ground for a democratic way of life.

A major difference between the democratic and the totalitarian philosophies lies in the different emphasis which each places upon the individual and the group. In the totalitarian setting, the individual exists for the state. In the democratic setting, the state exists for the welfare of the individual. In other words, in the democratic setting, the group exists for the child, not the child for the group. In a democracy, therefore, we must consider the group not a goal in itself, but a technique for furthering the individual's adjustment, development, and welfare.

When we do not give the child a chance to express himself and to interact freely in the group we are subordinating him to the group. If he does not completely rebel, he will tend to become a mirror of the group. He will acquire much of the group's knowledge and its attitudes in a passive way, through unquestioning acceptance, assimilation, or imitation, but he will not be equipped to modify that knowledge and those attitudes so as better to adapt them to changing needs. He is likely to remain a passive individual—a pawn of his environment—a ready prey to the dictatorial rule of others—unable to influence or to lead.

Only when we allow the child to express himself and to interact freely with others can he develop a sound perspective on his own abilities and a readiness to evaluate, judge, continuously adapt to, and modify the forces passively imposed by the group. Only through free expression and interaction within the group can the child develop the confidence, initiative, and understanding necessary for mature and democratic living.⁷

Freedom for interaction within the group has further advantages than those cited. Those groups which have organized so as to pro-

⁷ S. R. Slavson, "Group Education for a Democracy," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, XIII, No. 4 (December 1939), 226-235

vide the fullest possible degree of self-expression and interaction between members are making a surprising and encouraging discovery: they are finding that children not only learn to adjust better through the newer approach but that they also learn factual material more readily and permanently. The group helps to emotionalize and vitalize the information gained. Any text on social psychology will yield evidence that this is the case. Free expression and interaction within the group helps to meet the old criterion of education—the acquiring of factual knowledge—at the same time that it contributes to individual adjustment and to the development of a democratic way of life.

It seems to the author that the freeing of each individual child for optimal functioning within the group is the function most in need of emphasis in our present-day progressive schools. In our enthusiasm to let children function freely, we are liable to drop all control. The outgoing children may profit by this action, but the reserved and repressed are more likely to suffer. “Equal opportunities” necessitate such adult regulation that the reserved and repressed children may also function freely and happily.

To serve this function the adult, obviously, must have the deepest understanding of children and of individual needs. He must realize the value of guiding contacts and yet likewise sense the dangers of imposing adult standards and of stepping in without a sound understanding of the individual child's case. Our need for enlightened knowledge in this area is indeed great.

THE CHILD AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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HUMAN RAW MATERIAL AND THE ASCRIPTION OF STATUS

First let us admit a general proposition. An individual's most important functions for society are performed when he is fully adult, not when he is immature. Hence society's treatment of the child is chiefly preparatory and the evaluation of him mainly anticipatory (like a savings account). Any doctrine which views the child's needs as paramount and those of organized society as secondary is a sociological anomaly, although a personal evaluation of particular children above other ends (mainly by parents) is a normal phenomenon which fits the cultural system for socializing the young.

Too often the child-and-society problem has been visualized as simply that of transmitting the cultural heritage. Yet society does not depend solely on transmitting its heritage but also on absorbing each new generation into its structure. Confronted by a constant stream of raw material in the form of new babies, it must so process and distribute this material that the variegated system of interlocking adult statuses which chiefly constitute the social structure will be filled and the business of society accomplished. Such a task presents numerous difficulties not involved in merely transmitting the general heritage.

For instance, the fabrication of the infant for future positions must begin as soon as possible. Though socialization moves from the general to the specific and training for some specific statuses may thus be deferred, no community can leave its infants culturally vacant for any extended period of time, nor, since statuses are inter-related, can it train for the general ones without regard for the later narrower ones.

But paradoxically, the fabrication of the child for his statuses cannot begin until he already has some statuses. This is due to the fact that the work of socialization, if it is to be accomplished, must be assigned to particular persons whose responsibilities, rights, and obligations with respect to the infant are clearly defined, and who, by various sociological mechanisms, are motivated to perform the appropriate tasks. Such assignment immediately gives the infant membership in the society and a place in the social structure. The statuses he receives at this time, some temporary and some permanent, may be called ascribed statuses, because he certainly has not achieved them.¹

Still more paradoxically, these initial statuses, since they are ascribed at birth, are given at precisely the time when society knows least about the potentialities of the individual concerned. The human raw material, indeed, seems discouragingly homogeneous, whereas the statuses constituting the social structure are highly differentiated. Undoubtedly there are genetic differences of capacity between infants, but these lie hidden, only to be revealed in the subsequent process of socialization which itself requires that the child first be placed. It follows then that the placing of the infant is arbitrary, a matter not of pure accident certainly but at best of blind social rule. And it is no mitigation of this fact to realize that the statuses thus ascribed, precisely because they come first, tend to be the most important in the individual's life. They determine and limit the range of statuses which he may subsequently achieve or try to achieve.

However blind the ascription of important statuses may be from the point of view of innate capacity, it is nonetheless done according to rule. Our immediate question therefore is this: what *does*, what *can*, society seize upon in the newborn undifferentiated infant to

¹ The distinction between ascribed and achieved status is taken from Ralph Linton's brilliant discussion in *The Study of Man* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1936), chap. VIII.

use as a basis for the arbitrary assignment of statuses? The answer: precious little, and this may be reduced to four categories, viz, sex, age, age relationship, and kinship.^a

Sex. The infant's sex is a definite, highly visible physiological fact which appears at birth, remains fixed for life, provides a universally applicable dichotomy for dividing all infants into two classes, denotes a biological condition associated intrinsically with future reproductive functions, and harbors a libidinous drive tremendously significant in human motivation. It is, therefore, a very convenient, not wholly fortuitous, basis for the ascription of lifetime statuses, and this is why, in every society, it is utilized not only for definite statuses, but also for giving monopolies on achieved statuses (which means, in effect, that many otherwise achieved positions are at the same time sex-ascribed). Given this functional ascription on the basis of sex, it seems inevitable that an evaluative ascription should also be made—one sex receiving more prestige than the other; for social status is seldom merely a matter of prescribed activities, but usually a matter of invidious esteem as well.

Age. While the baby's zero age does not distinguish him from his fellow infants, it does separate him from older persons. Age, like sex, is a definite, highly visible physiological fact apparent at birth. But unlike sex, it is a steadily changing condition and therefore cannot give rise to permanent lifetime statuses. The only way it can give a permanent status is in terms of an *age relationship* between given persons (e.g., parent and child, or elder brother and younger brother), in which case it is the time interval between the parties, and not age itself, which remains fixed. Furthermore, except in terms of an age relationship, age is not a dichotomy but a continuum which can provide a basis for several rather than two general statuses. Yet if too many distinctions are made within this continuum, age loses its character of high visibility (small differences of chronological age being hard to detect) and its character of

^a Cf. Linton, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 ff.

intrinsic social relevance (for only in terms of broad age grades can there be an intrinsic connection between the physical condition and the social condition associated with age). Hence there are usually only a few age statuses (fixed in the culture but not permanent for the person) through which, if he lives, every individual passes. In addition there are often specialized series of positions assigned somewhat on the basis of age, but in which only particular persons participate. Some of these—e.g., many occupational careers in modern society—lead through well-established age rungs in some particular direction, such as higher pay and responsibility. More abundant in complex societies, such sequences are not quite so much a matter of age as the more generalized age statuses, because achievement plays a greater part in the attainment of each rank.

Mention of these specialized age series brings us back to our original problem, for at the inception of an individual's life there is no intrinsic evidence as to which series he should traverse. The initial limitations are simply the other bases of status ascription—notably sex, age relationship, and kinship—which, again, are largely extrinsic and arbitrary so far as the actual behavior in the adult statuses is concerned.

Age relationship. Since statuses are assigned on the basis of age, *mutual* age must necessarily affect the relations of any two or more associated persons. This is true in an informal way, as when general age statuses happen to give two people a compatible or incompatible world outlook. It is even truer in a formal way, in the sense that society utilizes age relationships as a basis for institutional organization, defining rights and obligations as between those of markedly divergent and between those of markedly similar age. More specifically, however, when an age relationship subsists between two persons who are also related in another way—notably by kinship, with the birth-cycle gap between parent and child and the birth-order gap between siblings—it becomes part of a group structure within the larger society.

Kinship. identification with parent. Another quality of the raw infant utilizable in giving him an initial status is race. But since race is inherited this basis is practically indistinguishable from another, namely, the infant's identification with his parents. Such identification is arbitrary, because there is no necessary biological identity between the parents' and the offspring's capacities (for socially ascribed identity is more complete than, and therefore cannot be explained by, genetic identity); yet it is convenient, because the parents, with and by whom in our family system the child is closely associated and socialized, already have well-defined statuses which the child can simply take over. The child may take the parent's status immediately (as in caste), acquire it later but begin training for it at once (as in succession or inheritance, which we may speak of as "delayed ascription"), or seek achieved positions with a competitive advantage or disadvantage provided by his parents (as in open-class occupational placement, which we may refer to as "fluid ascription"). In any case, through identification with the parents the child becomes automatically related to the rest of the society and is trained accordingly. So important is this *jus sanguinis* principle that a wide number of important statuses depend upon it. The ascription of citizenship, religious affiliation, and community membership, for instance, is in most cases a matter of identification with parents who are already citizens, communicants, and members.

Interdependence of various bases. Sex, age, age relationship, and kinship are therefore the first things about a newborn infant which society can utilize for the immediate ascription of statuses. These bases are not only universal but also functionally interrelated, differently but mutually connected with social activities. For instance, the main intrinsic function with which sex is connected, reproduction, is also age-limited, in that it occurs only during a certain period (the reproductive period) of life. Kinship identification involves an age difference between the child and his parents, a sex difference and rough age similarity between his parents, and an age difference

sons charged with socializing the young must not only have something to transmit, and the responsibility of transmitting it, but must also have the power of coercion. Why older persons should be given this power and responsibility is easy to see, for when socialization is begun the infant has no juniors and no capacity for associating with equals, and socialization must naturally proceed from those who have more of the culture to those who have less. Why the adults first given the task should be kinsmen (e.g., parents) arises out of the child's original close connection with them in the family system.⁷ With a wide age and experience gap separating the child from his socializers, he cannot "understand" the logic and nature of all that they transmit to him, or achieve insight into their minds. In case he does not understand or, understanding, does not wish to obey, he is coerced—because, from the point of view of society, the essential thing is not that he be "freed from taboo" in order to "express his personality," but that he be prepared for his adult positions. Hence what he absorbs is largely a morality of constraint. It is in this way that society, taking no chances, transmits the most valued and essential parts of its heritage. Ultimately societal morality is not a matter of rational understanding but of felt obligation; the official socializer—be he parent, educator, or master—is the representative of the greater authority of society.

Why similarity of age, sex, and rank should be a basis for equalitarian relations, and these a source of the morality of coöperation, seems clear. Persons related by such similarity are in the same position with reference to authority, and the element of coercion is therefore absent. Rules consequently have no other *raison d'être* than the spontaneous realization that they are necessary for the continuance of the interaction. Being at the same stage of socialization age-mates, for example, can participate in one another's subjective

⁷ For an extended explanation of the family's importance in socialization, see Willard Waller, *The Family* (New York: Cordon Company, Inc., 1938), pp. 39-42. Persons other than the parents help everywhere in authoritarian socialization, but they are usually designated in terms of kinship or by the child's inheritance of the parents' rank, locale, wealth, etc.

attitudes, understanding why each expects a given type of behavior and thus laying the basis for reciprocity.⁸ The same is somewhat true of sex and caste mates. From such equals there are acquired some things which cannot be acquired from persons in authority. These include not only the coöperative morality already discussed but also some of the more informal aspects of culture—small behavior patterns, shades of meaning, fads and crazes, secret modes of gratification, and forbidden knowledge. Such things are often socially necessary but yet tabooed (such as sex knowledge in our society). Leaving them to equalitarian relations for transmission has the effect of controlling them—for coevals, being almost equally ignorant, can transmit relatively little real information one to the other, so that the total amount of knowledge transmitted is kept down to a minimum.

Our previous treatment of ascribed statuses now takes on new meaning. Both authoritarian and equalitarian relationships contribute to the socialization of the child, and both tend to be ascribed (at least initially) in terms of sex, age, and kinship. Things that involve discipline and responsibility in transmission are usually handed over to authoritarian relations, other things to equalitarian relations. We thus glimpse the manner in which ascribed statuses figure in the dynamics of socialization.

EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL THEORY IN MODERN SOCIETY

Let us now change our focus from the general to the specific, first by admitting that childhood varies in different cultures, second by examining certain problems raised by our own type of society.

Societal relativity. A small stable society utilizes ascribed status more than a large changing one. The latter cannot fit persons into

⁸ In so far as age dissimilarity is an organizing principle, it implies also the existence of age similarity as such a principle. There is reason to believe that societies with the greatest amount of age deference are also those with the greatest amount of age solidarity. See the materials on African societies—e.g., L. Schapera (ed.), *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1937).

its complex and highly specialized statuses simply on the basis of sex, age, and kinship. Sex and age are so broad as to yield too few classes, and kinship, implying parent-child identity, cannot take care of a rapidly changing milieu in which hundreds of *new* statuses appear in each generation. Identification with the parents works best when the parents socialize the child, but with increasing specialization parental training becomes less and less adequate until reliance must finally be placed on socialization outside the family in special organizations having professional teachers, a physical plant, a large capital investment, and an aggregation of pupils. In such a society status achievement encroaches upon status ascription, with sex, age, and kinship playing the role of limiting factors in the competition for achieved statuses rather than acting as direct sources of specific statuses.⁹ By the exercise of unusual ability and fortitude a woman may qualify for a man's occupation, a young man rise to an old man's professional rank, or a poor person climb to a position of wealth.¹⁰ In this way, in a complex society, individuals of different sex, different age, and different origins compete for the *same* statuses.

Problems of the specialized society. Each kind of society—the simple-stable and the complex-instable—has its peculiar problems. The problem of the simple one, with its ascribed statuses and rigid institutional patterns, is its lack of adaptability to changing conditions. It may pursue ancient custom to the point of ossification and disaster. The complex specialized society, on the contrary, runs the risk of uncontrolled individualization with consequent loss of social cohesion. Intense specialization leads to a failure of society's mem-

⁹ The familial set of statuses constitutes an exception. This suggests the principle that whenever sex, age, and kinship are *intrinsically* related to the duties and obligations of a position, they remain as direct sources of it.

¹⁰ Since preparation for a specialized status must usually be paid for in some way, wealth is the fluid medium facilitating competition for almost any achieved position, and the inheritance of wealth gives one an important advantage. Such inheritance amounts to the fluid ascription of *means* to the attainment of all achieved statuses rather than the ascription of any particular status.

bers to understand one another. A partial antidote to this tendency is the fact that each individual has many statuses, so that his allegiance extends beyond any specialized group. But within each individual, and between him and others, there must presumably exist some integration of the various statuses, else personal and societal order will disappear. The integration must be on an evaluative as well as a factual level. The more a society becomes dependent upon specialization and its statuses become accessible through individual achievement, the more tenuous becomes the integrating principle—unless (and this is the difficult part) the realm of sacred common values remains superior to the everyday world of competitive interest.

Specialized achieved statuses require generally that the individual master certain rational techniques. He must adopt something of a scientific attitude toward his work and his career, and the highest prestige often goes to those who are the most skillful in this. Hence, obligatory norms which limit arbitrarily the means for gaining a position are subjected to criticism—criticism which arises not only from personal ambition but also from the very logico-empirical attitude fostered in the placement situation. Hence the nonrational beliefs and practices associated with the obligatory norms are apt to be scoffed at. Under these circumstances, in the face of individualistic motivation and scientific criticism, the central values and common ends of the society tend to crumble.

Modern education and societal integration. Organized education cannot escape this problem of the specialized society, of which it is both product and cause. In the liberal democratic United States it has contributed to the problem in two ways: by trying to deny and minimize ascribed status, and by attempting to evade normative indoctrination. In neither attempt has it been wholly successful or consistent, but in philosophy if not always in practice it has stressed *achieved and condemned ascribed status and has evaluated scientific truth above doctrine*. In keeping with this it has stated its goal to be

the scientific study and efficient satisfaction of the child's needs, has minimized ritual, and has skirted those of the nonrational norms which could not be somehow rationalized as "science."²¹

It may well be questioned, however, how far a society can dispense with ascribed status and still survive. To begin with, we have already seen that infants must be "placed" in the structure before the process of absorption into the structure can begin; and since the aim is eventual placement in highly specialized adult statuses, it is hard to see how the infants could all, regardless of sex, age relations, and parentage, be given the *same* place to start with, especially as long as a familial mode of reproduction is maintained. Also, any persisting society is an example of change within constancy, in which ascribed status helps to provide the constancy, achieved status the change, both being indispensable. In addition, it is no accident that a regime in which ascription is strong is also one in which nonrational beliefs and norms are strong. To fix persons in statuses independently of their personal qualities requires a strong system of institutional controls. Ascribed statuses are generally broad ones in which the technical aspect is not complicated, the important thing being sentiment, custom, and ritual rather than rational skill. To dispense with ascribed statuses altogether would knock a powerful prop from under the common values and ends which give society its cohesiveness, especially if these were further destroyed by scientific criticism and individualistic motivation. Finally, since our previous discussion showed ascribed statuses to be bound up with socialization in authoritarian relations, and these with the transmission of cultural values and patterns, a regime of purely achieved status would con-

²¹ American education philosophy is thus individualistic in the sense of being preoccupied with "individual needs," positivistic in the sense of looking to science for ethical conclusions, and rationalistic in the sense of assuming the sole significant orientation to the world to be one of cognition. It is realized, of course, that all thought in educational circles cannot be placed under one rubric. What is aimed at here is the description of a general tendency, and it is surprising to what an extent even the violently opposed schools of educational philosophy take the same things for granted, their differences being more superficial than the basic similarities which give them the same general interpretation of social life.

stitute a threat to authority and to the functions of authority. In short, it seems that a society cannot travel always in the direction of specialization and status achievement, that eventually its loss of solidarity will reach the point where an internal revolution by a militant cohesive minority or an external conquest by a militant cohesive rival will turn it back in the direction of institutional rigidity.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Our effort has been not to blame current educational philosophy but to point out certain features of the child-and-society relation which liberal democratic educators are prone to ignore. We have attempted to show that status ascription, far from being an anachronism from a predemocratic era, is a universal and systematic part of society, on which the process of socialization and the maintenance of solidarity are both dependent. In handling the stream of raw material from which it must build the personnel for its differentiated social structure, a society has little to go on in ascribing the initial statuses which it must ascribe; but it makes the most of this little, and utilizing it as a basis for the authoritarian and equalitarian relationships in which socialization takes place, it transmits both the formal and the informal aspects of the culture in a manner conducive to structural integration. Unless these things are understood it seems that educational philosophy will concentrate too narrowly on the so-called needs of the child and not sufficiently on the equally real needs of the society, so that many fundamental customs will seem anomalous and worthless—customs which, however, if they were eliminated, would leave the society strangely incapable of maintaining itself.

THE INTERACTION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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In accepting the invitation of your societies¹ to present for discussion a paper on the interaction of school and community, the writer has understood it to be his function to bring before you a wide range of problems pressing for solution in this field. It is evident, however, that a permanent solution of any one of them can be made only in terms of underlying principles. It has, therefore, appeared essential to set up a conception of action in this field—to establish a sort of framework of principles within which to present and discuss the several specific problems.

The term "principles" is here used not as universally valid truths but rather as "hypotheses with which to experiment."² These principles are the generalizations representing the most defensible basis for conduct in dealing with the several problems. They may be thought of as guides to action that should be modified as conditions change, as new facts are discovered, or as greater insight is developed. We who work in the fields of sociology and education, where varying personalities and groups interact in widely differing environments, realize the tentative nature of many of our generalizations. Nevertheless, there is an advantage in stating as accurately as possible the generalizations basic to practice in our respective fields. Statements³ embodying generalizations are presented here despite the danger that such efforts may result in an oversimplification of both the problems and the principles.

Not all of these principles will be explained and evaluated in

¹ The Association of Rural Sociologists and the Educational Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association

² John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1922), p. 239

³ See page 231 for footnote

detail; rather, certain ones involving problems where we seem to be having greatest difficulty have been selected for elaboration.

1. Since education is a continuous process that utilizes all experience, it is essential, if we are to develop an educational program of maximum effectiveness, that we study critically the opportunities and responsibilities not only of the school but of all other significant agencies in the community.

2. Although educational thinkers are not in agreement as to the degree to which a program of public education should be or may be built upon life needs, the trend appears to be distinctly toward an emphasis of activities that will develop the various abilities required for meeting the demonstrable responsibilities of life.

3. The school should not undertake to create directly through instruction a "new social order." It should transmit those knowledges, ideals, attitudes, and habits that appear desirable for meeting life's responsibilities (including an inculcation of those concepts that the community and its larger society hold to be essential), and should develop willingness and ability to appraise with an open mind new proposals for dealing with social and economic problems.

4. In building its curriculum the school should recognize those lacks in the community that create problems in pupil development and adjustment and should employ all types of community resources that can be economically and significantly utilized.

An indication of the shift that is going on from a school in which learning takes place merely from books to one which utilizes all types of experiences useful in developing the abilities needed for meeting the problems of life may be seen in the report of the Edu-

^a During the process of formulating these principles, the criticism of certain sociologists, educationists, and school administrators was sought with most useful results. Contributing were F. J. Brown, New York University, J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, George A. Works, University of Chicago, C. C. Peters, Pennsylvania State College, Charles L. Mosher, Director of Child Accounting and Attendance, New York State Education Department, Charles E. Finch (retired), formerly supervisor of social studies, Rochester, N. Y., Claude L. Kulp, Superintendent of Schools, Ithaca, N. Y., and the following from among the writer's Cornell colleagues: H. R. Anderson, W. A. Anderson, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., E. N. Ferriss, M. L. Hulse, Dwight Sanderson, and J. L. Woodward. While there appeared to be general acceptance of the various statements, it should be understood that no person in this group would probably accept them all exactly as they are phrased. In a very few cases there appeared to be a marked difference of opinion on certain issues.

cational Policies Commission.⁴ This representative and powerful group has approached public education from the point of view of the purposes that should direct the activities of the school system. It has named four main purposes: self-realization, human relationship, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility. In connection with each it has suggested more specific objectives, a total of forty-three being presented in the report. These or other specific objectives may be achieved in part through books and other instructional materials of the traditional school, but it is obvious that the process must go far beyond these into the life of the community and of the society of which the community is a part.

Recognition of the importance of an accurate survey of the community's problems and resources has received a stimulus through a recent volume of the New York Regents Inquiry.⁵ This volume presents a variety of information regarding general population, school population, characteristics of the population, social factors, economic background, and the like. Much specific information regarding conditions in New York State is given regarding each of these several topics. In analyzing the characteristics of the population, for example, data are presented on density and concentration of population, ethnic composition, marriage rate, occupational pattern, and unemployment.

It is evident that data such as these are almost imperative for those who plan the educational program in a community. Much of this material is useful to the teacher himself since it shows conditions under which his pupils live. It may reveal certain lacks or resources or, merely, problems requiring study before their educational significance can be determined. However, each community needs to go beyond these general State analyses in order that teachers and educational planners may know more exactly the conditions existing in the particular community in which they are working.

⁴ Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of American Education* (Washington, D. C., 1938)

⁵ Julius B. Maller, *School and Community*, The Regents' Inquiry (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938)

For example, it would be of value to know the different types of organizations that exist within the community, to understand their functions, their programs, and the contributions they make or may make to the development of children and young people. It would be useful to have information regarding the distribution of incomes; standards of living as revealed through such details as cost of food per month, number of rooms in the home, the facilities for heating and for cooking, the cultural level of the home as shown by the number, variety and quality of books and magazines coming into it, the extent of the parents' schooling, the kinds of picture shows attended, the radio programs heard, etc. An analysis of recreational facilities of various kinds in the community would obviously contribute to an understanding of the needs and opportunities here as a basis for planning the school's recreational program. Conditions of employment would be particularly useful to the teachers of vocational subjects. Youth surveys,⁶ such as have been carried on in a number of communities, tend to reveal conditions that affect practically every phase of the school program, especially on the secondary level.

Here and there one finds surveys of this type.⁷ Useful as these are for giving a general picture of social conditions, we should really look forward to the time when each community will have available information regarding itself that will be of use to both the school and the community. Naturally, it is assumed that any data of this type will require careful study in order that its educational implications may be fully understood.

5 If the school is to stimulate the fullest development of the pupil, it cannot confine its experiences to those available in the community. Within the limits of its resources it should go as far afield as the probable life needs of the pupils warrant.

6. The school is not the exclusive agency of the (local) community;

⁶ See a list of such surveys in D. L. Harley, *Surveys of Youth* (Washington, D. C. American Youth Commission, 1937), Series IV, Vol. I, No. 1.

⁷ For example, Bruce L. Melvin, *The Sociology of a Village and the Surrounding Territory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1931), Bulletin No. 523.

rather, it represents that larger society of which the community is a part, working in and with the community and its various constituent individuals and groups

Originally the American school was, in effect, a community institution; it could hardly have been otherwise because of the physical conditions that existed. However, as the several communities in a colony developed, they began to cooperate through the Colonial government in order that the educational program might serve more adequately the larger group. Today education is considered to be the primary responsibility of the State and to this end the several commonwealths have enacted legislation providing for the establishment, support, and control of public schools.

This does not mean that the State attempts to direct in detail the educational program of its local communities. In practically every State, there is division of responsibility among governmental units on the various levels.⁸ Although this is an interesting and vital problem affecting significantly the function of the community in directing the school, further space cannot be given it here.

Three main reasons may be given for not considering the school the exclusive agency of the community: (1) Pupils need preparation for life wherever they may live. The increasing mobility of our population thus becomes a significant conditioning factor. (2) Democracy considers that its safety rests upon the intelligence and knowledge of its citizens. The larger society cannot, therefore, concede the right of a community to give much or little education as it may wish. (3) Variations in ability to maintain schools of reasonable efficiency make county, State, and Federal assistance imperative

⁸ A classic study in this evolution of school control is G. H. Martin, *The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, 1894). A more popular statement may be found in E. P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934). Three efforts to state principles for allocating educational responsibilities are Franklin Bobbitt, *Principles of Organization and Administration*, in *Rural School Survey of New York State*, Julian E. Butterworth, *Rural School Administration* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), chap. 4, 12, Frank Cyr, *Responsibility for Rural-School Administration* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933).

This view does not, of course, mean that the community has no place. The school could not, if it would, escape the influences of the ideals, the prejudices, and the customs of the community in which it exists. It could not build a really effective program without utilizing community resources and recognizing community lacks. One *might* visualize a future in which progress in community development has produced communities so far-seeing and socially minded that each could be trusted to provide of its own accord a desirable educational program. The decision on this matter made by any of us will doubtless be influenced by a balancing of those elements of idealism and realism that exist in all of us.

Many workers in education look with misgiving upon certain developments along this line on the Federal level⁹ and fear that the American people may be called upon to make some vital decisions in the not very remote future.

7 In making effective the conception of the educative process here outlined, certain activities affecting the welfare of citizens (library, health and recreation programs, etc.) that have been provided through special agencies in the community (or, in some cases, have not been provided at all) are allocated in whole or in part to the school in order that their contributions to pupil development may be more completely utilized. At the present time it appears to be impossible to indicate in detail the nature of the cooperation that should take place between the school and other agencies in the community. This problem offers, therefore, a real opportunity to use scientific method—to describe more exactly the results desired; to analyze functions of various agencies within the community; and to experiment with different forms of cooperation under varying conditions.

Let us illustrate this principle by discussing in some detail one important problem in school-community relationships—health education.

⁹ For example a bill (S 119) presented to the 75th Congress, giving effect to the recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Education, appears to increase greatly the authority of the Federal Government in this field.

Involved in this activity are a number of specific activities, the more important of which are:¹⁰

- a. The assessment of health conditions in pupils
- b. Notification of parents regarding defects found in the assessment process
- c. Remedying the defects found to exist
- d. Immunization against such diseases as diphtheria and smallpox
- e. Health instruction

What individuals or agencies within the community should undertake these several responsibilities and how should they all cooperate in order to achieve the end desired? This end we may assume to be provision of adequate health services through competent personnel at the most reasonable cost for which they can be provided.

a. Assessment of health conditions may be omitted from the school health program and left entirely in the hands of the family physician who conducts it in his own office in the form of the annual medical examination, simply sending copies of his examination records to the school. More often the school undertakes this assessment through a rather superficial screening process known as the annual medical inspection in which the school physician, with the aid of nurses and teachers, attempts to cull out those children in need of surgical or medical treatment or in need of special adjustment through classroom or physical-education activities. A third scheme places the responsibility for the annual screening upon the teacher's and nurse's shoulders and reserves the school physician's services for examination of culled cases from all grades and for more thorough examination of each child at school entrance and then, routinely, only once or twice more in his school life

¹⁰ This section has been prepared with the assistance of Dr. Dean F. Smiley, Professor of Hygiene at Cornell University

b The notification of parents regarding defects discovered may consist simply in sending a card home by the child or through the mail. Many schools follow this card, however, with letters and, if necessary, send a nurse to persuade hesitant parents of the need, and advise ways and means of having the correction made, utilizing the community facilities in keeping with the economic status of the family.

c. Remedying the defects is the crucial step. It may be left to the family physician, in which case it will be done or neglected according to the health standards of the family or its economic status. Some persons advocate and some few schools appear to practise the policy of having treatments given through a school clinic (*see* table on page 239). Such a clinic may remove tonsils, clean and repair teeth, irrigate ears, deal with skin infections, etc. Other persons contend that the schools should do nothing along the line of treatment, and this appears to be the prevailing practice (*see* table on page 239).

d Immunization likewise could be done by the school, by the family physician, or by the public-health agencies.

e. Health instruction is perhaps generally conceded to be primarily a school function. In most communities, however, the public-health department lists health education as one of the important points in its six-point public-health program. With regard to the sex-social segment of health education, the responsibility would still seem to rest primarily upon the parents rather than upon the school. Though the school may be quite legitimately expected to make the best possible use of the various school situations for health-teaching purposes and may even create such situations in order to apply and make practical the didactic health instruction, we must still admit that many of the important habits such as sleeping, eating, and caring for the bowels, teeth, and skin are exercised largely in the home rather than in the school. It is the home, not the school, that is given the all-important opportunity for establishing these habits in infancy.

It would appear that a health program¹¹ can be carried on with reasonable success in a variety of ways. That it is so done now may be shown by reference to the table on page 239.

Note the variations in practice among the four types of school areas and among the several types of services included in the analysis.

What school-community relationships as regards health education should be established in any particular community? It seems doubtful whether any specific pattern of action can, at present, be accepted as best; each situation needs to be evaluated in terms of certain conditioning factors. Among the factors likely to be significant are: (1) The degree to which health needs are being met through the family, (2) the clinic and free-care facilities available in the community (e g., the services provided through a medical school and through public hospitals); (3) the willingness and the ability of the welfare department to provide health services for those coming under its jurisdiction; (4) the nature of the public-health organization in the community and the extent of its facilities; (5) the ability of the community to recognize the need for health services and to provide them, (6) the flexibility of the budget situation among the several agencies (e g., does the school or does the public-health service have greater resources?), (7) the attitude of the medical profession (does it refuse to accept welfare or indigent cases at the prescribed rate and is it opposed to any step that might look toward "state medicine?"); (8) the authority of the board of education. This last factor is of particular significance. If we move in the direction suggested by the Educational Policies Commission of making school boards into *public education authorities* with responsibility for administering all public educational activities in the community, then this may become the dominant factor in the decision.¹²

¹¹ From the extensive literature on this subject one relatively recent volume is suggested as particularly useful: Everett C. Preston, *Principles and Statutory Provisions Relating to Recreational, Medical, and Social Welfare Services of the Public Schools* (Contributions to Education, No. 661 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935).

¹² Educational Policies Commission, *op. cit.*, p. x.

SPONSORSHIP OF SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES^a
(IN PERCENTAGES)

HEALTH SERVICES	PERCENTAGE OF CITIES OR COUNTIES IN WHICH SERVICE IS PROVIDED BY											
	Schools only				Other agencies only				Both schools and other agencies			
	A ^a	B ^b	C ^c	D ^d	A ^a	B ^b	C ^c	D ^d	A ^a	B ^b	C ^c	D ^d
1	2				3				4			
Daily Health Inspection	67	75	80	70	6	4	3	3	5	3		
Dental Examinations	70	55	61	29	13	12	7	9	12	15	13	14
Dental Treatment for Indigents	42	38	26	12	40	32	32	31	12	14	21	10
Dental Treatment for all Children	8	10	8	2	10	13	7	3				
Immunization	37	36	42	35	31	25	23	26	20	20	21	17
Medical Examinations	57	57	64	37	13	8	10	21	25	30	15	14
Medical Treatment for Indigents	9	12	12	10	61	54	53	41	9	14	11	13
Medical Treatment for all Children	2	4	5	1	7	11	3	6				
Psychiatric Service	37	25	21	1	21	20	15	14	15	13	17	4
Visiting Nurse Service	45	39	53	27	21	28	10	23	15	21	21	11
Weighting and Measuring of Children	84	85	89	64	3	2	1	8	9	10	10	12

^a = 67 cities having a population of over 100,000

^b = 154 cities having a population of 30,000 to 100,000

^c = 72 cities having a population of less than 30,000

^d = 121 counties in 7 States, Md., Mo., Ohio, Ore., Utah, and W. Va.)

¹ Educational Commission, Social Hygiene and the Schools (Washington, D. C., 1939), p. 138

As we evaluate these factors, we shall doubtless find emerging certain patterns of coöperation between the school and the other agencies interested in health. In due time it should be possible to get more or less objective measures of the results achieved through these several patterns.

Likewise, the library and the recreational needs of the community may be studied and types of coöperation evaluated. Each type of activity has its own objectives, specific problems, and conditioning factors. One might expect, therefore, that a single pattern of coöperation would not be satisfactory for all such activities in a particular community any more than would one pattern for health education (at least at the present time) give the best form of school-community coöperation in all communities.

Some activities that create problems in this field have their origin in Federal legislation. Such, for example, are the programs of the agricultural and home-economics extension services, including the 4-H Club, and of the NYA. When the NYA was initiated there was marked opposition on the part of school groups to the establishment of a separate organization for dealing with youth problems. It was argued that the school was already established for this purpose and that, therefore, it would be more economical and more fruitful of results if the school took over any needed supplementary activities. To what extent the argument that the problems of youth during the depression had become so acute that the school would in many communities be unable to adjust itself to the new conditions, we have no way of knowing. At any rate, the organization was established and in due time problems of overlapping responsibilities between the school and the NYA developed on both community and State levels.¹¹

Fortunately, the leaders in both groups have recognized the need for defining functions and for allocating responsibilities. After sev-

¹¹ An excellent picture of the activities of the NYA may be obtained from: Aubrey Williams, *Report of the National Youth Administration, 1939*, mimeographed; Paul B. Jacobson, "Youth and Work Opportunities," *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, XXIV, No. 90 (April 1940).

eral conferences a definition of the function of the educational and of the NYA authorities was made and an allocation agreed upon.¹² Briefly, this agreement defined the function of the Office of Education as the development and operation of educational or training programs for all youth and that of the NYA as the organization and administration of programs of work for needy or selected youth. In conformity with this statement of function, the Office of Education is "to exercise leadership in developing and in administering federally financed programs of education, including emergency training programs to be conducted cooperatively by the Federal Government, the States, and the local communities in schools and colleges", while the NYA is "to provide and administer the funds with which to support programs of student work for young people who will be enrolled full-time in schools or colleges, and also employment on work projects for other young people, all of whom will be provided with related or necessary instruction under the direction of Federal, State and local educational authorities." In cases where the State education authorities decide "that it is not feasible to furnish instruction in addition to that which is incidental to and a part of the work and is given during the work period, the specific situation in question shall be referred to a committee of three persons, selected jointly by the state director of vocational education and the state administrator of the National Youth Administration. This committee shall decide whether such additional instruction is to be provided and whether the State Department of Education or the National Youth Administration shall provide it."

Whether such understanding will have any other than a temporary effect remains to be seen. If, unfortunately, misunderstandings again arise, the fundamental question may need to be reconsidered: Are the activities of the NYA of sufficient significance to warrant

¹² J. W. Studebaker, *Definition of the Respective Functions of the United States Office of Education and the National Youth Administration*. Statement issued in mimeographed form by the United States Office of Education (Washington, D. C., August 2, 1940)

their continuance under new economic conditions and, if so, should they be performed by the education authorities? Lack of space prevents an enumeration, even, of the specific questions involved.

8. It is not clear how far the community as a unit now does or will in the future tend to formulate definite objectives; neither is it clear as to what, precisely, those objectives would be if they were formulated. Whether much or little is done along this line, community needs will be discovered that will call for the constructive effort of various agencies. The community has a right to expect the cooperation of the school in meeting these needs so far as facilities permit, but it should recognize that the school's primary responsibility of providing an effective education for children and young people cannot safely be neglected.

The community is made up of persons organized into various groups with numerous and sometimes, probably, conflicting objectives. Because of this the community as a unit cannot easily set up its objectives, weigh means of attaining them, and initiate the necessary actions. We may, however, assume that the normal community is seeking the promotion of the welfare of its citizens, however this may be defined in specific terms.

There are some who appear to believe that the community has a right to demand of the school any service that it is competent to render. This writer cannot go the whole way in this view. The school's major responsibility has been and still is the educational preparation of those of school age, but we need not be surprised if, in the future, society will enlarge its conception as to the scope of the school program. For example, certain types of adult education may become so significant that "school age" will be extended to give the school this responsibility. Courses designed for training in citizenship; for studying unemployment, marketing of farm products, or other social and economic problems; for specific vocational instruction (in controlling pests, repairing farm machinery, designing clothing, etc.) with the cooperation of the county farm or home-

economics agents, where there are such specialists, may all be done in the school and often under the guidance of and with the assistance of the regular school staff.

What many persons seem not to realize, however, is that in most schools the staff now has a full-time job and, even though the members may help in the adult program, demands must be kept within reason. In general, we may say that as the school undertakes new services, whether at the request of the community or on its own initiative, there should be adequate increase in facilities whether of plant, personnel, or equipment. If the school were able, without *limiting undesirably the facilities for children and young people*, to house such activities as the public-health clinic, the NYA, the 4-H club activities; the public library (in rural communities); community musical groups; some at least of the scout units; the woman's club; the P. T. A., the community forum; the Americanization program; instruction in the distributive occupations; the community council, the community youth committee; men's athletic clubs, etc., a situation would be created favorable to enlarging the vision of both school and community as to their respective and joint responsibilities and opportunities. The Educational Policies Commission appropriately calls attention to the desirability of planning the school plant in terms of this larger conception of education.¹⁶ Engelhardt and Engelhardt have recently given us a volume that offers many helpful suggestions along this line.¹⁷

Despite the limitations suggested above, the school may contribute in no small degree to the clarification of community objectives and to an understanding of how they may be achieved. As the school organizes its program about community lacks and resources, whether these are concerned with health or citizenship or vocational effi-

¹⁶ Educational Policies Commission, *Social Services and the Schools* (Washington, D. C. 1939), p. 10.

¹⁷ *Planning the Community School* (New York: American Book Company, 1940)

ciency or leisure, pupils are bound to think in terms of the community.¹⁸ They will thus be stimulated to evaluate, perhaps even to formulate, community objectives and to learn something of the ways and means of reaching the ends desired. Teachers, parents, and other adult citizens will thus be stimulated to a greater or a lesser degree

9. The community council appears to be one useful means whereby a community may study itself and its activities, discover its lacks, and seek assistance in overcoming them.

Sanderson and Polson¹⁹ classify community councils as of three types. (1) Direct community organizations in which all citizens are members to the extent they participate; e.g., Farmers Clubs, the West Virginia Community Council, etc. (2) Indirect community organizations made up of representatives of various groups in the community (3) Special interest community organizations; e.g., village improvement societies, the Grange, the Parent-Teacher Association, the Farm Bureau, the Land-Use Committee, etc. Although the newly developing Land-Use Committees should probably be classified as "special interest" groups, their discussions are bringing into review a large number of the activities (e.g., soil conservation, flood control, drainage, taxation, government, rural zoning, schools, highways, etc.) that go on in a rural community.²⁰

Even though all types of community councils should contribute to community welfare, it is the first two types that are likely to be most useful for the purpose we here have in mind. The need is to see the community as a whole.²¹ Such organizations seem not always

¹⁸ Two interesting experiments of a practical nature are described in a recent volume, Elsie R. Clapp, *Community Schools in Action* (New York: The Viking Press, 1939). One is an agricultural community in Kentucky, the other an industrial community in West Virginia.

¹⁹ Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, *Rural Community Organization* (New York and London: John Wiley and Sons, 1939), chap. VII.

²⁰ *Land Use Planning Under Way* (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1940).

²¹ A description of an apparently successful council may be found in Bertha Smith and Julius Yourman, "The Yonkers Plan of Community Coordination," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, XI, No. 5 (January 1938), 257-304.

to have been as successful as could be hoped, but undoubtedly we shall learn through experience how to overcome their defects. The opportunities may be briefly stated as follows: (1) to discuss the needs of the community (which implies, of course, that objectives must be considered); (2) to secure data regarding the nature and the extent of the various needs; (3) to formulate desirable policies for action by the community as a whole; and (4) to educate (*see* principle 11) the community regarding both needs and policies. In the work of the council the school will rightly have an influential voice.

Further study of efforts of this type is obviously needed. It should be possible to set up evaluative procedures whereby, over reasonably long periods of time, the effectiveness of various patterns of organization under different conditions may be measured.

10. Although the principle of the residual functions of the school is sound, there must be continued study of local educational conditions from the point of view of determining what responsibilities should be assumed by the school; what, by other agencies; and what should be regarded as of mutual concern.

The conception of the residual functions of the school may be presented through the words of Peters:²²

There is no type of training that one needs for success in any aspect of life that is not the school's proper concern. It is not its privilege to draw itself up within the limits of a traditional curriculum and say, "these other things do not belong to me." If they pertain to fitness for effective living, whether related to health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, or rightness, and if they can be at all improved through training, they do belong to the school.

. But the school need not itself attempt to give every form of training needed for life. It should not do so. It is only the coordinating and supplementing factor among all the educational agencies. Its function is a distinctly residual one. It must itself do whatever needs to be done but which

²² Charles C. Peters, *Foundations of Educational Sociology* (rev. ed., New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), p. 254.

no other agency is adequately doing. It begins where the other agencies leave off. That involves, on the one hand, that it should not blindly duplicate what other agencies are doing, for there is too much to be accomplished to allow of any waste on purposeless duplication; and, on the other hand, it involves that the school should not pass by any sort of training needed for effective future life which no other agency is adequately giving, no matter how far removed its giving would be from the conventional practice of our schools.

In this same volume, Peters describes methods of finding the residual functions of the school²⁸ and illustrates the procedure followed by himself and members of his classes in measuring the elements of culture possessed by representative groups of small-owning farmers, teachers, business men, men in the higher professions, housewives of the upper middle class, and young women stenographers.

In accordance with this principle, the school might find it desirable to provide motion pictures, dances, and other forms of recreation, to organize a school savings bank for pupils, or to undertake certain health services, etc. Activities of this type should not be undertaken by the school until the situation has been thoroughly canvassed to see whether other agencies in the community can provide the services satisfactorily. In general, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the school may find it necessary to take over responsibilities in underprivileged communities to a greater degree than it would in others. A community council may be particularly useful in stimulating various agencies other than the school to assume responsibilities of this type.

11. The development of sound interactions between the school and the community requires a continuing program of discussion regarding their respective and mutual needs and opportunities

Since there is no official or group with authority to require such discussion, dependence must be placed upon voluntary, cooperative

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, chap. XIX

thinking and acting if satisfactory results are to be secured. We are familiar with the various devices that are utilized for this purpose: newspapers, special reports, radio talks, individual and group conferences, and the like. The relative value of these devices has been studied to some extent²⁴ and further researches of this type should, in time, enable us to improve the effectiveness of our programs of discussion.

What we are faced with is a leadership situation in which action is brought about as the result of group thinking. It is what may be called a process of socially intelligent leadership. What are the essential (or, at least, the significant) steps in leadership of this type? One writer²⁵ has suggested five such steps. (1) A need for better adjustment of a group to some phase of its environment. This is the motive for action, whether the situation is concerned with schools, with delinquency, or with standards of living. (2) Group recognition of this need. Most situations show two stages: the intellectual awareness (which may be secured through the presentation of facts, through observation, etc.); and awareness so keen that desire on the part of the group to act develops. (3) Confidence in the leader—in his ability to make useful suggestions, in his concern for the welfare of the group, and in his "oneness" with them. (4) The suggestion of various courses of action and an evaluation of them (which may be presented by individuals or may evolve as the result of group discussion). (5) The initiation of action. Depending upon the particular situation, results may be secured through direct action on the part of the whole group or of some authorized subdivision of it, but probably most commonly by pressure upon or support of the officials or governing body having legal authority.

²⁴ For example: M. G. Neale, *School Reports as a Means of Securing Additional Support for Education in American Cities* (Columbia: Missouri Book Company); F. H. Shaw, *State School Reports* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926).

²⁵ Modified from the original analysis as it appeared in Julian E. Butterworth, *Rural School Administration* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), chaps. X, XI. Most readers will recognize the writer's dependence upon Dewey's analysis of a complete act of thought (*How We Think*, chap. VI).

As the significant elements in a great variety of situations of the social intelligence type are analyzed, we are likely to discover desirable modifications in this analysis. With an understanding of these steps in the leadership process, it becomes possible to weigh various procedures and to choose the one or ones most likely to be effective. Is the need not clear? Is the awareness not sufficiently keen to overbalance the fears of certain results (e.g., increased taxes)? Does the leader fail to impress the group as one working for their welfare? Are the proposed courses of action not clearly explained and fully weighed? Such questions become focal points in an approach to social change. Of course, there can be no guarantee that following this process of leadership will always bring results. Failure may be due to any one of many reasons—financial inability of the community, the influence of a single, powerful taxpayer, or of some group within the community exerting influence in its own behalf.

A community council of the general type may be the planning group for such a process of socially intelligent leadership within the community. It may use any of its constituent groups in that process.

There is one organization with such potentialities in school-community relationships that it merits special mention. This is the Parent-Teacher Association. With a membership of approximately two and one-third millions (many of them the leading women of their communities), organized into 28,000 units in forty-seven States, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia, there is a rare opportunity for bringing the school and the community (especially the home) into fruitful cooperation. There are four major problems that must be met if the potentialities of the organization are to be realized: (1) There must be vital educational needs so presented as to challenge the group. (2) The objectives of the organization should be determined as specifically as possible and clearly stated. (3) School officials (board members, principals, and teachers) must understand the opportunities of the organization and give their aid. (4) There must be leadership ability among the members. There is not space here to

discuss these matters in detail. Data regarding the activities of this organization, analyses of its functions, and problems arising therefrom may be found in the references given in the footnote.²⁶

12. Desirable school-community relationships may be promoted if the local unit of school control can be so planned as to be coterminous with the sociological community.

This principle is familiar to all sociologists and to many educators through the work of Galpin, Kolb, Sanderson, Thaden, and others. The writer is tempted to elaborate the idea involved but the limits of space have already been reached. Of several problems that have emerged as this principle has been applied to school organization, one seems to be of fundamental significance: Should the school program be planned for the sociological community (in contrast to the neighborhood) even though the services thereby provided are inadequate; or should a reasonably comprehensive program on the twelve-grade level be established for some fairly homogeneous area, often including more than a single sociological community, with the probable result of developing a new community within the service area of the school? That there are several important sociological and educational implications is evident. Our two groups should cooperate in attacking the problem.²⁷

²⁶ Julian E. Butterworth, *The Parent-Teacher Association and Its Work* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928).

Elmer S. Holbeck, *An Analysis of the Activities and Potentialities for Achievement of the Parent-Teacher Association*, Contributions to Education, No. 601 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934).

Maria L. Rogers, *A Contribution to the Theory and Practice of Parent Associations* (New York: United Parents Association, Inc., 1931).

²⁷ One cooperative approach is outlined in Julian E. Butterworth and Dwight Sanderson, *A Preliminary Analysis of the Major Problems and Procedures Involved in a Program of Redistributing in New York State*, mimeographed (Ithaca, 1940).

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles, and where possible descriptions, of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

THE FORTUNE SURVEY¹ ITS HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT¹

In July 1935, the editors of *Fortune* ventured an experiment they described as "A New Technique in Journalism." As their text they took Mr. Walter Lippmann's thesis that a knowledge of public opinion is essential in a democracy. As their method the editors adopted a technique long known to industry in gauging public acceptance of merchandise. And as their objective they declared the modest hope that, by experiment and correction, the Survey might in time enjoy a certain authority as a barometer of that public opinion the importance of which had been so well described, the nature of which had been so blankly ignored.

This journalistic infant won quick acceptance. It was cited in courts as expert testimony upon popular tastes in milk containers. Its reports on the sales rankings of leading cigarette brands were accepted as accurate by experts in the business. Moreover, the Survey was early credited with the gift of prophecy. Thus the editors found themselves in the embarrassing possession of an uncalibrated barometer which was popularly regarded as a precision instrument. They disclaimed any such hair-fine accuracy, explained that even when the Survey was brought to all practicable perfection, it would still be subject to a mathematical margin of error as large as two per cent, and went ahead with the job adjustment and refinement, issue by issue. The sample upon which the findings were based was increased from 3,000 to 5,000 personal interviews. The number of places at which interviews were made was increased from a score to more than eighty. Gradually what began as a representative cross section of the

¹ This statement has been provided through the courtesy of the editors of *Fortune*. The accuracy of the *Fortune* poll in the recent presidential election gives this methodological statement unusual interest at this time.

population became more nearly a faithful reproduction of that population in miniature. And thus gradually the Survey was brought near to the point of accuracy that was credited to it in the beginning.

The Survey's most exacting and conspicuous test was the national election of November 1936. Four times before Election Day the public attitudes toward Mr. Roosevelt were measured, and four times the returns showed his popularity to be far greater than he was credited with by every other poll, straw vote, or prognostication (other than Mr. Farley's). The *Fortune* Survey for October 1936 gave Mr. Roosevelt the favor of 61.7 per cent of the people with opinions. Obviously some one had to be wrong—either *Fortune* and Farley on the one hand, or every one else on the other. Roosevelt's election majority of 60.5 per cent of the votes proved *Fortune* right. It showed that the technique for market research, honestly and carefully applied to finding the truth and not to proving a point, could indeed become the "New Technique in Journalism." *Fortune's* editors hoped it would.

There is no black magic about sampling public opinion. It is mainly a matter of common sense, and leg work, in executing the stages of the work set forth here.

The questions In gauging public opinion by sample, the greatest chance for serious error, for distortion of the truth, lies in the framing of the questions. A loaded question can produce almost any result desired. Consequently, *Fortune's* questionnaires are drafted with extreme care. First the subject matter to be covered is mapped out. Then the questions are so written as to be answerable by people of the simplest intelligence. These questions are pretested by scores of trial interviews to discover whether their wording proves, in the asking, to be confusing, misleading, or unconsciously loaded. Many questions are discarded, all are revised.

The sample The second element of potential error is the use of a faulty sample—that is, a sample that does not truly represent the entire population, or divisions of it, economic and geographic. *Fortune's* sample for each installment of the Survey consists of 5,000 United States adults. About half are men, half women. About half are between the ages of twenty and forty, the rest over forty. This division checks roughly with the United States census. Geographically the Nation is divided into seven sections (following the nine census divisions but consolidating two pairs), and in each section the number of interviews bears the same ratio to the total sample as the section's population bears to the total United States

population. By that same rule of proportion to population, interviews within each section are distributed among communities of all sizes, are distributed from the largest city to the sparsest rural district. Thus, if 10 per cent of the people live in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 population, 500 of the 5,000 interviews are in cities of that size. The sample is further subdivided by income levels, under five classifications: prosperous, 6 per cent; upper middle class, 23 per cent; lower middle class, 41 per cent; poor (among whom Negroes are reported separately) 30 per cent. Necessarily this distribution is arbitrary, as there is no index comparable with the census figures on which it can be based. But it represents the Survey's estimate of the economic boundaries of the five classes defined as follows. The prosperous are the well-to-do according to the standards of the communities in which they live, taking into consideration the fact that a man with \$5,000 a year in a small town may properly consider his stake in the order of things and his position in society greater than does a man with \$10,000 in a large city. The upper middle class ranges by definition from the foreman and shopkeeper to the about-to-become major executive. The lower middle class comprises those regularly employed in the ranks at steady jobs. And the poor are those who work when they have jobs. Upon these five factors—age, sex, geography, size of place, and income—the Survey sample is strictly controlled.

The interviews The interviews for the Survey are made by the market-research firm of Elmo Roper. His field staff, deployed through all the key points in the country, consists of mature people, experienced in interviewing and of proved probity. Further, they are subject to constant check, both directly by supervisors and by report cards from the persons interviewed. Each of them is assigned a definite quota of interviews to be made—so many persons in each economic level, so many in this city, that town, and in the farming country twenty miles down the pike and ten miles along the side road. They use no lists of names because it is felt that all lists are special lists and fail to take account of the citizen who never had enough of this world's goods to have a telephone or to be listed for any other purpose. Instead, the interviewers go out on foot or by car and use their own judgment—for which the requirements are high—regarding which doorbells to ring, what shanties to visit, whom to approach in the country store to get the specified proportions in each class.

Tabulations: The interviewers check the answers on printed questionnaires, one for each interview, and send these to New York. Here, first of

all, the results are totaled, compared, and examined for "bugs"—i.e., for any glaring variations in the answers of one district from those adjacent—and possible errors in sampling or interviewing. "Bugs" lacking, the replies are collated, transferred to coded punched cards, and mechanically tabulated on Hollerith machines. Then they are cross-tabulated according to all classifications that may illuminate the meaning of the answers, and in many cases recross-tabulated to bring out the relationship between the answers to one question and the answers to another. Thus, although the Nation's total answers to a score or more of questions in each installment could be tabulated on two or three pages, the field reports actually contain as many as 200 crowded pages, totaling perhaps 20,000 items of statistical fact that throw light on the meaning and motive of the replies given.

Mathematical error. Mathematicians have studied what they call "the law of probable error" in sampling—whether of public opinion or of eggs—without always agreeing on what the law is or how it works when applied to samples made up of people. But its general application to the Survey may be illustrated thus: pick one hundred beans from a large jar containing an equal number of black beans and white beans thoroughly stirred, and you should get fifty black and fifty white ones. But you may get forty-eight black ones and fifty-two white, or vice versa. This is the probable error. Generally speaking, statistical experts agree that in picking the 5,000 human beans the error should never be more than two per cent. The forecast of the election was a case in point, with an error of less than the normal "probable" error. In cases where the opinions of one class only, or of a single part of the country, are analyzed, the probable error may be larger because the sample is smaller, but it should never be more than six per cent.

BOOK REVIEWS

Negro Youth at the Crossways, by E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940, xxiii + 301 pages.

Occasionally a good descriptive study so analyzes the relationships between social phenomena that it becomes a landmark. Such, no doubt, will be the study by E. Franklin Frazier which describes the impact of culture upon personality development of the Negro youth of the middle section of the United States. The study which was made under the auspices of the American Council on Education uses the interview technique as a method of investigation in an attempt to understand the influence of the social milieu upon the individual's role as a person. The study shows the frustration and thwarting of which the upperclass Negro youth are quite conscious. The impact upon the lower classes, while not so consciously defined, shows itself in a subtle way through numerous remarks and behaviors. Frazier did not find a particular pattern of political ideology permeating the group. What he did find was a vast amount of social unrest, unfulfilled wishes, and idealizations which become fertile ground for movements of various sorts.

If the educator is not already convinced, this study should go a long way toward focusing his attention upon the educational importance of the social consciousness of the person.

Frazier is to be congratulated on the way he has evaded the common psychiatric and psychological concepts related to personality and has demonstrated to the sociologist what can be done through sociological techniques of investigation within the framework of his own discipline. The work is thoroughly sociological, highly informative, and is exceptionally valuable both to sociology and to education.

The School in American Society, by HOWARD S. PATTERSON, ERNEST A. CHOATE, and EDWARD BRUNNER. Scranton: International Textbook Company, 1936, xii + 570 pages.

This book is essentially an interestingly written survey of leading facts and theories in the history of education and of contemporary educational problems and undertakings. Its inclusiveness should make it valuable to those unaware of the numerous roles education has played as both a conserving and progressive force. The book is challenging in spite of the

brevity of treatment of each topic. Questions at the end of each chapter are clear and stimulating. References are full and clear, illustrations and graphs well chosen. One of the Modern School Series.

An Approach to a Philosophy of Education, by THEODORE H. EATON.
New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1938, ix + 273 pages.

This is an essentially humanistic approach to the philosophy of education. It is nontechnical though it assumes some familiarity on the part of the reader with the major phases of educational theory. There is not much reference to the leading philosophies of the day—pragmatism, realism, idealism, neoscholasticism. Eaton analyzes the values of life as they crystallize out of an interpretation of man's biological, psychological, and social nature; he then suggests the application of these values to education. The chapter A Psychological Approach to Values: Meaning is excellent for its penetrating and inclusive study of the "humane" (distinctly human) values of the conscious or "spiritual" life—the life of felt worth.

The President Makers 1896 to 1919, by MATTHEW JOSEPHSON. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940, 584 pages.

The central events and issues in American life in the years from 1896 to 1919 bore an unmistakably political form. The political leader was more the key figure than he had been since the 1860's. The period itself produced a noteworthy political culture and a whole gallery of remarkable and diverse leading characters. With clarity and force, Mr. Josephson writes of the Presidents, the near Presidents, and the President makers—Mark Hanna, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge, Albert Beveridge, Robert LaFollette, William Jennings Bryan, William Howard Taft, George Perkins, the Pinchots, Colonel Harvey, Colonel House, and Woodrow Wilson. Here, in the days of the "Fair Deal" and the "New Freedom," may be found the roots of the "New Deal" which was to characterize a later decade. Mr. Josephson's volume contributes a splendid background against which to paint the story of the socializing of American democracy.

Russia Through the Ages, by STUART RAMSEY TOMPKINS. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940, 799 pages.

Professor Tompkins has essayed the task of encompassing in a volume of about eight hundred pages all the important phases of Russian history

from its legendary beginnings to the treaty of peace which concluded the recent Russo-Finnish War. To write the history of any country in so brief a compass is no simple task, but the path of one who would write the history of Russia is beset with special difficulties because there is for some periods a dearth and for others a plethora of source materials. Nevertheless, Professor Tompkins has, on the whole, done a creditable job. He has produced a book that is distinguished by a spirit of fairness, an adherence to well-founded facts, and a pleasing literary style. Furthermore, his work shows that he is no less familiar with source materials and secondary works in the Russian language than with those available in English. One might point out a number of errors that have crept into the book, but it is rather unreasonable to expect a work of this size and scope to be entirely free of them. There may also be some difference of opinion regarding the author's sense of proportion. While some military campaigns are treated at great length, the space allotted to culture is rather scant. The social and economic background might also have been sketched more amply. These criticisms must not, however, be permitted to overshadow the general excellence of the book. It is a work of which the author may well be proud and which will be read with interest by the general reader as well as by the specialist.

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EDITORIAL

Education is a common process of all living which transcends the bounds of the classroom and the campus. The theory of many schools and school teachers in the United States, however, seems to be that they possess a monopoly on education. Under this mistaken belief education is defined as the type of learning that takes place in the schools; conversely, what does not take place there is excluded as not being education. This monopolistic, exclusive concept of education is unfortunately shared by the public at large. It has no doubt contributed to the inertia which prevents a more rapid acceptance and expansion of nonschool education, particularly informal and on-the-job training. Unfortunately, this dichotomous reasoning leaves a wide twilight zone between preparation for the job and the job itself, which territory neither the educator nor the employer will claim, much less cultivate. Such an approach also gives us that absurd, nonexistent "either-or"—the cultural versus the vocational.

The present emergency created by the urgency of the national defense program has high-lighted many things, among them this same exclusive idea of education. Recently there met in Washington under the auspices of the Society for the Advancement of Management a conference of several hundred industrialists, business men, and Government officials. One of the dominant themes of the discussion was the need for training employees for the defense in-

industries. Over and over was repeated the refrain, "this is not an *educational* need; i.e., this is not for the schools, this is a need for on-the-job *training*." Thus have the schools been excluded from an important phase of "education" by their own definition of this common process. The schools, by this definition, have isolated themselves from their communities, instead of achieving a much needed integration of all the educational forces, both institutional and informal.

In Government, as well as in private industry, substantial progress has recently been made in employee education or training. Such training provides a means for new employees to become proficient more quickly, enables experienced employees to keep abreast of new developments in their occupational fields, prepares employees for promotion or transfer, and improves employee morale. There is occasionally found on the part of some personnel officials and training specialists an attempt to monopolize employee education or employee training in somewhat the same manner that school officials and teachers have sometimes attempted to gain exclusive control over education in the "cultural" field. Experience has shown, however, that the most desirable results are obtained when the educational and training experts serve as professional consultants, technical advisers, energizers, and coördinators. Supervisors, foremen, and other operating officials will accept and put into effect employee training in which they participate, but they often resent and resist the efforts of so-called experts who seek to control and to perform training activities that are properly the responsibility of the line departments.

The ever increasing importance of the public service at the national, State, and local levels of Government is now universally recognized. To be effective, education for the public service must be free from rigid restrictions with respect to both content and methods. Educational facilities of all types must be utilized both within and without the public service if our democratic way of life is to survive in a world of violent social change. The development of sci-

entific and professional knowledge, the building of occupational skills, and the creation of attitudes of good citizenship must be regarded as integral parts of a broad educational program designed to achieve adequate national security and higher standards of living.

Several points of view with respect to the relationship between education and the public service are presented in the articles which follow. In general, however, they emphasize the need for broader definition, more common understanding, and more democratic participation in the field of education.

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THE WHAT AND WHY OF EDUCATION

L. C. MARSHALL

Let us begin with the commonplace and the generally accepted as a way of arriving at a frame of reference concerning the what and why of education, whether it be applied to public affairs or to other aspects of man's living.

1. To live is to make adjustments. Man, like all other forms of life, is unceasingly engaged in making adjustments—adjustments within himself ranging from routine digestion of food to the latest remedial work in internal chemistry, adjustments with his physical environment ranging from acquiring a coat of tan to stratosphere flights, adjustments with his social environment ranging from the most routine customary way to a scientific effort to determine the what and why of education in social living. The need of making adjustments may or may not be "the most fundamental" fact of life; but, beyond question, it is a "must," an "inescapable," of all living

2. In the higher forms of life, the most significant "directive agent" in making these inescapable adjustments is the nervous system. In the more differentiated forms of life, of which man is a member, the nervous system is of course only one aspect of the whole being which makes the adjustments involved in living; but it is such a key aspect that our necessarily brief discussion may appropriately center attention upon it

3. The nervous systems of subhuman forms of life are, speaking broadly, of rigid types which contain at the time of birth substantially all the "patterns" that throughout life direct adjustments. This is only another way of saying that for practical purposes the subhuman forms of life cannot learn, cannot "be educated," cannot avoid repeating their unchanging adjustments not only throughout their own lives but also while the species reaches down through time. The what and why of their "education" (to stretch the use of

the word) involves nothing more than "growing up," with no significant changes taking place in methods of adjustment.

4. Man, while having in the autonomic aspect of his nervous system inborn patterns for handling many of his adjustments and particularly the bulk of those made within himself, is an interesting animal in that there are other aspects of his nervous system which have stupendous biological capacity for acquiring patterns after birth. In other words, man's nervous system—and for purposes of practical discussion we may say his alone—has a large biological *possibility* of taking on learned or acquired ways with which to guide many of his adjustments, and especially the bulk of his adjustments with his physical and social environments

5. But while the individual's nervous system contains the possibility of developing cultural ways, this possibility can be converted into a significant *actuality* only by the interactions and intercommunications which take place in group living. Of course, the Romuluses and Remuses, the wolf-children and the Tarzancitas, who either in fact or in fable have been reared without contact with humankind, can develop meager cultural patterns in their nervous systems; but these patterns are negligible in amount when compared with those acquired in the group living which is the practical background of our present discussion. In passing, let it be noted that, since group living is the factor which makes an actuality out of the biological possibility of human culture, the *coordination* of group living is one of the "musts" or "inescapables" of cultural human living. Here public affairs enter.

6. After cultural or acquired patterns in the nervous system of the individual have become actualities, he proceeds to apply these cultural or learned ways to his adjustments. This is especially true of his adjustments with his physical and social environments

Significance of culture. We have grown so accustomed to glib use of the word "culture" that its very usualism tends to conceal from

us its tremendous role in human living—and, to come to our immediate discussion, its significance to the what and why of education.

Upon reflection, we see that the whole issue involved in what we call better living—let the word “better” have any connotation we will—is that of the development of culture. There is only one explanation—culture—why man lives better than the animals; only one explanation why he lives better today than he did ten thousand years ago; only one basis of hope for better living in the future.

But even this sweeping statement may fail to carry the full import of culture. It may fail to indicate the extent to which man has been lifted from the marshlands of organic evolution to the stratosphere flights of cultural evolution. Each species of ordinary life survives (if it does) in a particular world for which it has become fitted by an evolutionary emergence of rigid, biological equipment. It has become fitted to its world by the emerging differentiations and specializations of its physical structure. Thereafter its adjustments with its world do not change while the centuries roll by. Man, on the other hand, has moved toward making his ever changing adjustments not by further specialization and rigidification of his biological base but by keeping a plastic biological structure and by developing that bewildering adjusting device called culture. His hand and forearm have remained relatively unspecialized when compared with the corresponding equipment of any other animal, with the result that he uses them for thousands of purposes. His “organs of speech” are so plastic that he can make a million different sounds for every sound the ordinary animal can make. His plastic nervous system, especially his cerebral cortex, is able to take on patterns that assign meanings to these sounds. These are merely the more important samples of the biological plasticities which are the bases of his culture. With him, biological evolution has not ended in a blind alley; it has opened the way to cultural evolution.

As cultural evolution has in practice worked out, the cultural patterns in the nervous system aid man in making his adjustments by

enabling him to cope with his world in such practical ways as building houses, raising crops, or clearing forests. But vastly more important, in the long run, is the fact that his culture in a real sense *creates* his world by determining what outlooks he will have upon it; what he will think his world is and how it operates; what he will believe is his role; what his "experiences" will mean to him in his world; what can be believed and what "must" be false. In short, to the extent an individual understands himself and his world, his understanding is and must be a cultural understanding which he has secured from his group living—a group living that reaches out more or less fully to racial experience.

As has been pointed out times without number, there is in human culture nothing of the supernatural, nothing mysterious. Accordingly—and this is for present purposes important—there is no need to assume that culture is something beyond man's ability to shape and control. On the contrary, "man's culture is *man's* culture," and the question whether he shapes and controls it is an unreal question. Operationally speaking, culture is in the nervous systems of individuals, and it can be in no other place. The nerve patterns involved are made by the individuals concerned, and they can be made in no other way. Individuals are the agents in the accumulation and transmission of culture, and no other agents (except their combinations and elaborations) are possible. The real issue is not whether man will shape and control the culture which gives him whatever understanding he has of himself and his world. He does so. He cannot avoid doing so. The real issue is whether this shaping and controlling will decreasingly become a matter of mere habit and custom and increasingly a matter of conscious planned effort.

All this points clearly to the what and why of education. Education, not only of the formal-school type but also of all other types, is concerned with the accumulation and transmission of culture; with bringing about acquired (or cultural) patterns in the nervous systems of individuals. Since culture is the characteristically human

device for making adjustments, it follows that education is concerned with every conceivable aspect of bringing about "better" living. The "area" occupied by formal education, or by any agency of formal education such as the college, is and can be merely a pragmatic selection made from a total vastness, a selection which varies from time to time and from one practical situation to another.

Role of science in culture. Education, to repeat, is concerned with the accumulation and transmission of culture. That has an implication in the world of today which may be sensed by viewing the role of science in the development of human culture.

Disregarding, in the interests of brief treatment, the earlier backgrounds of science, let us say that in the sixteen hundreds the basic foundations of modern mathematics and physics were laid. From this cultural development there eventually emerged the multiplicity of inventions and controls of physical powers that we have come to symbolize by the term "industrial revolution." But, vastly more important to man, this cultural development changed his basic conceptions of his world and his place in it. No longer was his world flat, no longer was the universe geocentric, no longer were "the facts" of the physical world to be determined by resorting to the writings of "the fathers" rather than by the modern version of trial and error, called scientific experimentation. Physics and its consequent industrial revolution meant not so much plentiful tools and machines as a new conception of one's self and one's world.

In the seventeen hundreds, let us say, the essential foundations of chemistry were laid. The long-run result was only secondarily the creation of a million synthetics or the development of those chemical techniques and procedures which have today plunged us into a "chemical revolution" more far-reaching than its predecessor in the physical field. Primarily, the long-run result was the new interpretation man achieved of himself and his world. His world, even his universe, became an understandable synthesis and organization of less than a hundred basic elements. The distinction between the

organic and inorganic broke down for many practical purposes. Life processes themselves, including "thought" processes, were seen to be in part chemical phenomena. In brief, chemistry and its consequent chemical revolution meant not so much new substances and new manufacturing processes as a new conception of one's self and one's world.

In the eighteen hundreds, let us say, the essential foundations of biology were laid. The understanding of cells as the operational units of living matter, and of the genes as the operational units of heredity, and of the nervous system as the essential directing agent in making adjustments has meant vast increase of man's practical control of nature. The consequences are far-reaching in agriculture, in animal husbandry, in remedial and creative medicine, in all kinds of man's adjustments within himself and with his world. And again, the really significant matter for present purposes is man's altered conception of his world and his place in it. This world is no longer "homocentric"; the human being is just "a pinch of world-stuff" in which life processes are at work; he is just a part of "the orderly universe" which is now a basic assumption in his adjustments. In brief, biology and its consequent biological revolution, or biotechnic era, meant not so much new practical controls as a new understanding of one's self and one's world.

One cannot speak in terms of such definite scientific accomplishments when considering the area of group living. One cannot too confidently predict that the sequence industrial revolution, chemical revolution, and biological revolution will have as its fourth development a sociotechnic era. But it is by no means absurd to hope that the same scientific outlooks which have wrought such practical changes and such new conceptions of human living in these earlier explored areas will have corresponding repercussions in the social area. To the extent that they do, public affairs and administration, to take only those examples, will enter upon a new world of both practical achievement and basic conceptions.

The foregoing view of the role of certain "natural" sciences and of the possible role of a sociotechnic era is, obviously enough, only a sampling view—with the samples chosen because of their direct bearing upon the issues in our present discussion. But they *are* samples of what is happening in the culture of our western civilization; and they throw light upon the what and why of education as a shaper and transmitter of human culture. To repeat, culture is the uniquely human device which man uses in his adjustments. This device puts him on a new plane of life, for it is something that he can consciously shape and control—something that frees him from the fixed and routine biological adjustments characteristic of other forms of life. This device not only gives him tools and other practical equipment for dealing with his physical universe; it also shapes his conceptions of what that universe is, how it operates, what he is, and what his role is and should be. Culture is thus both "practical" and "conceptual." Education, both formal and informal, is of necessity concerned with the total of our cultural or learned ways; and it cannot wisely set up some specious antithesis between the "practical" and the "conceptual." In western civilization where science is the major cultural device for continually testing, evaluating—yes, and guiding—culture, education must emphasize the scientific in culture if it is to play its most effective role in "better" living.

So much for a general view of the role of culture in human living, and the role of education, formal and informal, in the accumulation and transmission of culture. Such a view gives perspective on the content and methods appropriate to formal education in general and to any specific segment of that education, such as collegiate preparation for participation in public affairs.

Content in terms of basic conceptions or basic processes Education in general, as well as education for particular purposes, will attain its highest usefulness if the content utilized is in perspective to "the basic organizing conceptions" which underlie all the varied manifestations of human culture of all times and places. As seen by

Lawrence K. Frank,¹ there are four basic conceptions which run through all the varied cultures of man. These conceptions deal with:

1. The nature of the universe, how it arose, or was created; how it operates; who or what makes things happen, and why
2. Man's place in that universe; his origin, nature, and destiny, his relation to the world, whether in nature or outside nature
3. Man's relation to his group; who must be sacrificed for whom; the individual's rights, titles, duties, and obligations
4. Human nature and conduct, man's image of self and his motives, what he wants and what he should have; how he should be educated and socialized

As we see in the religion and philosophy of each cultural group, these four basic organizing conceptions are interdependent, each giving and receiving sanction and support from the other three. The specific formulations that derive from these basic conceptions are expressed in law, the arts, and the innumerable other formulations through which a culture declares and maintains itself. Moreover, these basic concepts, together with the selective awareness and sensibilities that they foster, and the patterns of thought, feeling, and conduct that they sanction, permeate the whole complex of language and symbols, rituals and ceremonies, institutional practices, such as contract, barter, sale, marriage, political organization, etc., through and in which the social life is organized and carried on.

Of course, the underlying assumptions of any such statement are: (1) that "from the beginning man has faced the same persistent tasks of life," with the result that "there is a more or less universal pattern of life to be found in all cultures"; (2) that the characteristically human way of facing these persistent tasks is by the development of cultural patterns in the nervous system—a nervous system which has such incredible capacity for variable response that no two human cultures can possibly be identical in the detailed adjustments utilized; and (3) that every human culture (thanks both to the high degree of biological integration possessed by man and to the inter-

¹ Lawrence K. Frank, "Science and Culture," *The Scientific Monthly*, June 1940, pp. 491-497. Others of Mr. Frank's ideas have been utilized in this present article.

communication through which culture is built up) is a configuration, an interdependent "oneness" rather than a miscellany of odds and ends.

If these assumptions are sound, it readily follows that education—whether "practical" or "conceptual," whether "special" or "general"—will fail to rise to its highest usefulness unless all is done with full appreciation of "the basic organizing conceptions" around which cluster all the innumerable details of the living of every culture.

An alternative statement of basic organizing conceptions could be couched in terms of the universally used processes by which man meets the persistent tasks of life. Such a statement of basic processes might well run thus:

1 The accumulation and transmission of culture—terms which should be interpreted to include the development and utilization of standards and values since these are of course cultural patterns in the individual's nervous system.

2 The (essentially cultural) formation, maintenance, and governance of all human groups—grouping serving to secure the advantages of (a) mass action, (b) specialization, and (c) intercommunication.

3 The on-going adjustments with his physical environment such as (a) his understandings of nature and his physical adjustments ranging from rules-of-thumb to the most advanced scientific engineering, (b) his economic organization—which overlaps with (2) above, and (c) his adjustments of his numbers to the physical and cultural circumstances of his world—and this overlaps with (4) below

4 The continuance and conservation of the race—conservation in the sense of effective utilization of biological capacities

5 The molding of the individual personality. Although this is implied in the foregoing, separate listing is justified since the individual is the operational unit in the formation of culture and in all other aspects of group living.

This statement,² I think, has an outlook not essentially different from that of Mr Frank; and neither of these statements need be

² This process approach is discussed in Marshall and Goetz, *Curriculum Making in the Social Studies: A Social Process Approach* (Part XIII of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936

regarded as essentially different in outlook from one which started with the idea of "basic organizing conceptions" and then proceeded to fill in details in terms of the physical sciences, the biological sciences, the social sciences, the engineering applications of all sciences, the arts, the languages, the literatures, and all the rest of the orthodox classifications of man's cultural experiences. This third statement, however, might have certain practical difficulties in maintaining a perspective of either basic conceptions or basic processes. As yet, our understandings of "the unity of science," to say nothing of the nonscientific formulations of human experience, are not such as to make a clear perspective of total human experience readily attainable if the usual classifications and phraseologies are utilized.

Methodological matters in education in public affairs. Whatever formulation of basic conceptions or basic processes is looked upon with approval as giving, for training in the social sciences and hence for training in public affairs, an effective view of the "universals" of *content* in man's adjustments, three *methodological* matters should be emphasized.

First, whatever may be the reach and height to which particular content is ultimately built, the foundation should rest upon the *personal*. This is true not only because the individual is the operational unit in group living, but also because he and he alone can make the cultural patterns desired. By building upon the foundation of the personal, there are secured at one and the same time both strong motivation and an approach in operational terms.

This approach in *operational* terms is a second significant methodological matter. Here the word operational embraces not only approach in terms of operational units but also approach in terms of underlying operations or processes performed by and with these units. Stress upon underlying processes and operations will (1) facilitate the development of rich factual content since masses of details may thus be put into meaningful perspective, and (2) promote plasticity of outlook, and thus receptiveness for the continual

scientific evaluation and testing which should be at the heart of modern educational work. It is a safe statement that one of the greatest handicaps we have today in the development of effective education in public affairs is our too great absorption in detailed practices and procedures with too little awareness of the fundamental operations or processes being served by these techniques. It does not deny the tremendous importance of techniques to say that they should always be worked out in a broad perspective of basic process.

The third methodological matter—the three are of course interdependent—may be indicated by the word *integrational*. The term speaks to the desirability of integration within the individual personality; integration of the individual with racial experience; integration of one aspect or trait of human living with the others of the cultural configuration concerned. The significance of all such striving for integration needs no elaboration in view of the fact that the “basic organizing conceptions,” or “the basic processes” if that term seems more expressive, are all interdependent and interacting. Human living is not a line-up of pigeonholes, and true education will not proceed with a methodology built on such an assumption.

Summary. The essential propositions in the foregoing may be stated quite briefly.

1. The characteristically human way of making adjustments is by the use of culture. Operationally speaking, the location of culture is in the “patterns” of the nervous systems of individuals.

2. Since man has always “faced the same persistent tasks of life” with a relatively unchanging over-all biological structure, there is a general or over-all pattern of human culture along with innumerable variations of detailed procedures from culture group to culture group. Every culture is a configuration.

3. Education is concerned with the accumulation and transmission of culture. Its effectiveness, in terms of content, may be expected to depend upon the degree to which that content sets a particular task of education in the total framework of the essentials of human

cultural ways. This framework may be stated in terms of basic organizing conceptions, or of basic processes of human living, or in other appropriate fundamental terms. When education is thus conceived, there is no real antithesis between the "practical" and the "conceptual."

4. Now that man has become aware of the role of culture, aware of its operational location, aware that an aspect of his culture called scientific method is the best testing and evaluating procedure we have yet developed, education should depend less and less upon transmission of folkways and customs and more and more upon scientific development of cultural ways and upon transmission of scientifically established ways.

5. In the social sciences, and this includes work in public affairs, three words point to desirable methodologies which should be used in educational work. That work should be conducted in personal, operational, and integrational terms.

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LEARNING TO MAKE A LIVING

ALONZO G. GRACE

No government or political system is safe when men are unemployed for long periods. Fundamental problems and conditions affecting the employment of men must be faced realistically. The right guarantee of security to property and to men is a nation of employed men and women. Those who are employed and who own their own homes are not likely to trade liberty for security. A home-owning employed population is not likely to succumb to the fantastic proposals of those who have little regard either for liberty or security. Society, then, has two fundamental obligations: (1) to provide work for every one who desires to work; (2) to provide an educational system that will teach the individual not only how to live but also how to make a living.

The school has been criticized for failure to produce a nation of skilled workers; for developing false ideals concerning the ultimate objective of living; for failure to develop good work habits in youth, and for many other reasons. It has become common practice to attribute many of our present difficulties to a faulty educational system. Granted that America has an unwieldy and ineffective system of local administrative organization; that some State departments of education do not exhibit inspiring leadership, acceptable scholarship, pertinent research or effective service; that educators have been slow to face realistically the problems of youth; that the secondary-school program has been unduly academic in nature; that the school program is a series of unrelated compartments; that these and many other criticisms of public education are just and valid—*the remedy does not lie in the creation of other agencies to secure the needed changes*. The best method of improving the school system and the best guarantee that the emerging product will represent social competency is the willingness of all elements to aid the existing educa-

tional system to do the job and to lend every aid to the end that the school system may perform the functions for which it was created. This is a major issue at the moment and no doubt will continue to challenge the disposition and vision of all concerned for some time to come.

There can be but one system of public education in this country and that system should continue as it has for over three hundred years—to be a responsibility of the several States which with few exceptions delegate the actual conduct of the schools to the people of the State through local boards of education. The solution to our problem does not lie in a super-State or super-Federal Government that will absorb the functions of units closer to the people. While it may be admitted that many units of local government conceived during the pioneer era and the evolution of American democracy no longer are able independently and separately to provide all the services now required for the security of the people, the solution does not lie in the creation of or transfer to units far removed from the grass roots. Without the sustained interest of the governed, efficient administration and effective establishment of policy can be only partially attained.

Instead of attempting to place the responsibility for failure to avert many of our problems, our thoughts must be turned to the development of a constructive program. It is essential, therefore, that every State undertake the appraisal and evaluation of its own school system and that the wisdom and intelligence of its citizens and professional educators be used to the maximum in the development of a program—a program that will teach people how to live as well as how to make a living.

SOME REASONS FOR EDUCATIONAL LAG

Whatever be the lag in public education it must be said that educators have not been wholly responsible. What, then, are some of the

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tors involved? The following illustrate the complexity of the problem:

The cost in dollars and cents

It is cheaper in terms of dollars and cents for a school system to employ one teacher for forty pupils in an academic course than it is to provide one teacher for fifteen boys or girls who desire to learn a trade or to learn how to make a living.

Parental desire

Many parents struggle through life in order that their children may not have to endure the hardship, the sacrifices, or unpleasantness that circumscribed their lives. False values have been placed on certain types of training.

Prestige value

There is a prestige value attached to the *college preparatory curriculum* that impedes the real job of education. The real failure in public education emanates from the prevailing belief that other educational opportunities are devices designed to take care of those who indicate a lack of interest or who fail in the college preparatory curriculum.

1. Diplomas, certificates, degrees

Business and industry have made the diploma from high school or college a prerequisite for employment. So long as those who employ regard the diploma of graduation as an index of competency, just so long will individuals fail to meet the requirements for employment. The criteria for employment should be "What can you do?" and "How well can you do it?" not "What kind of a diploma do you have?" and "Where did you get it?"

5 Sacrifice and work

It is essential that the American people as a whole begin to feel a sense of sacrifice for the welfare of our country. Let us not believe that we can live without enduring hardships or that we can ease our way out of the trying situations confronting us. The utmost sacrifice will be necessary in the years to come if this nation survives.

Equal respect for all kinds of labor, physical and mental, honestly done, is recommended, but social barriers against the hand worker are set up. The office worker, for no good reason, is placed on a higher social level.

This tendency must be corrected if there be change in the school organization and curriculum. The best way would be to make honest statements concerning the qualifications of graduates.

We should be under no illusion concerning the training of the citizens of tomorrow. Vocational education and guidance do not create jobs. The proper diagnosis of the talents of the individual and the ability to ascertain those areas in which he can make the greatest contribution to his own happiness and to the security of society will at least give one a passport to a job. Training for the work of the world and for the work that each one is able best to do is the first essential in social security and the defense of a nation.

GRADUATING CLASSES AND THE WORK OF A STATE

An analysis of the high-school graduating class of practically any State will reveal three important facts: (1) more boys and girls have been trained for college than will ever get there; (2) the commercial program has been overemphasized; (3) the majority of pupils have not been properly or adequately prepared to make satisfactory life adjustments in their communities.

The school program has not kept pace with socio-economic change. The inadequacy of the academic curriculum for the multitudes who do not desire to go to college or who may enter the work of the world immediately has been evident for years. It is equally evident that many youth go to college for no other reason than that parents possess the economic means to send them. In other instances excellent college material is prevented from attaining this goal because of the economic inability to finance a four-year course. There is a serious waste or misdirection of the interests, ambitions, and abilities of many potential citizens. Public education must mean something more than an escape mechanism demanded by parents and devised by experts to avoid the unpleasantness, the hard work, the inequalities, or the meager opportunities that prevailed in preceding generations.

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the commercial curriculum presents an excellent opportunity for general as well as vocational training. It has become, in too many instances, merely a place to care for those who indicate little aptitude for intellectual enthusiasm for the college preparatory curriculum. It is not possible in this presentation to present fully the case for retention of the secondary-school program. It is evident, however, that a horizontal education for life is far more essential than a vertical education for more education.

College education, on the other hand, should not be the exclusive right of those who have the economic means to see their way through. It is not that too many go to schools and colleges, but rather that too few are being developed and assisted to select those areas of study which hold for each the greatest happiness and contentment and which hold for society the greatest usefulness and service. The need for a guidance program in our school system is apparent.

SOME FIRST PRINCIPLES

The transition in the secondary-school program will not be accomplished immediately. It is highly desirable that as changes are made full consideration be given to many important issues. The security of democracy itself is contingent largely upon the employment and employability of most of our citizens, and the ability of all to think constructively and critically rather than to accept without questioning the pronouncements of those with special interests. Certain fundamental facts must be faced realistically. These are as follows:

The age of employment will rise

Business and industry generally do not employ boys and girls below the age of 18. The age of initial employment is rising, rather than the reverse.

The labor market should not be crowded by immature youth.

The labor market should not be overcrowded by children and adolescent youth competing with older youth and adults for positions. The major job in employment is to create enough jobs to go around. The edu-

cational system, however, cannot meet the problem through a program so thoroughly academic in nature, and with many youth possessing interest and aptitude in other areas

A substantial number of youth very well may be kept off the labor market without harm either to themselves or to society by continuing on into institutions of higher learning. There is a difference between the institution that specializes in the production of scholars and the institution of higher education that is dealing with average boys and girls. Those who have been the early and easy victims of subversive movements in this country have been very largely those with insufficient schooling to enable them to distinguish between the forfeiture of their liberty and the panacea proposed for their deliverance.

3. *Coöperation of education, business, and industry is essential*

Business and industry in close coöperation with school authorities must assume a larger responsibility for training beyond the secondary school. No school system can possibly duplicate industry or business.

4. *The curriculum will depend largely on local needs.*

Conditions vary from community to community. It is necessary to adapt the curriculum to local needs and conditions. It is important, however, that the school system be regarded as a social agency designed to train the individual for living and for making a living rather than to serve wholly the interests of any particular community or area.

5. *The development of an effective guidance program in the school system is fundamental*

The assistance of youth to select those areas in which they have the greatest contribution to make by reason of their interest and their capacity is of infinite importance in the security of the democratic order. This means substantially that children should be permitted to develop to their greatest potentiality irrespective of race, nationality, economic condition, political affiliation, or any of the irrelevant factors that sometimes determine the future of the individual. This is a program largely within the local school and should be developed further by local school systems.

6. *What are essentials?*

Our secondary-school program generally represents a wide offering. Those subjects in the curriculum that are no longer of any particular use to large numbers of individuals should be eliminated. Fundamental

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ges ultimately may reduce the need for different subjects. This is especially true if areas of experience supplant the narrow subject-matter compartments. English, for example, should be taught as part of every experience in the child's experience. The need for the specialist in speech, in writing, in the field of appreciation of literature is evident.

School organization should be considered.

The complete training of the individual probably may best be carried on in the comprehensive high school. This is a more economical and effective type of organization, and with the trend to include the seventh and eighth grades as part of the secondary school a more effective program may be made possible. A general program of personal development and life preparation may well extend through the tenth grade for all pupils, broad specializations coming later.

Development of marketable skills and attitudes.

The secondary school may develop in boys and girls marketable skills that will make employment much easier upon completion of the twelfth grade—or at such time as the individual may drop out of school. The further development of the program of arts and industries—beyond the present manual training or avocational approach; provision for review courses in arithmetic before leaving school; the concerted action of all teachers on such fundamentals as accuracy, neatness, thoroughness, ability to assume responsibility, willingness to follow directions, and many other qualities essential to employment may be made possible in the comprehensive secondary school.

The socially competent individual.

It must be realized, too, that in the development of social competency the educational system as an institution or in cooperation with other institutions must provide sufficient opportunity in several areas of life experience for well-rounded development. Among the other areas are: (a) home and family life; (b) the socio-economic forces; (c) health; (d) ability to enjoy the aesthetic elements in life; (e) spiritual development of the individual; (f) natural environment; (g) training for the work of the world with adequate provision for retraining opportunities.

These are trying times. It is altogether probable that many of the difficulties encountered during the period of the first World War

may be repeated unless those in places of leadership are willing to face the situation realistically and without emotion. Plans must be well formulated. It is equally essential that there be recorded the almost universal desire on the part of our people for a better vocational opportunity for our youth. During ten years of a depression period, when many educators urged more vocational education and preparation for the days to come, few were willing to spend the additional sums to train the workers that ultimately were to be needed.

Men and women become citizens of the United States, and in that capacity determine the policies of democracy. Democracy is not safe until the people have been prepared to participate intelligently and rationally in the conduct of their own affairs. The production of a constructive attitude toward government is not possible merely by waiting for it to develop. Let us remember this—each one of us is a citizen, whether he be a college graduate or possess merely a sixth-grade training. No one asks how much education one has, or what his intelligence quotient is when he casts his vote, runs for office, serves on a jury, or buys goods. The security of this country is vested in a trained citizenship. The first line of defense for the country is a citizenship prepared to do the work of the world; a citizenship that knows and is prepared to defend the things for which this country stands

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DANCE FOR A CAREER IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

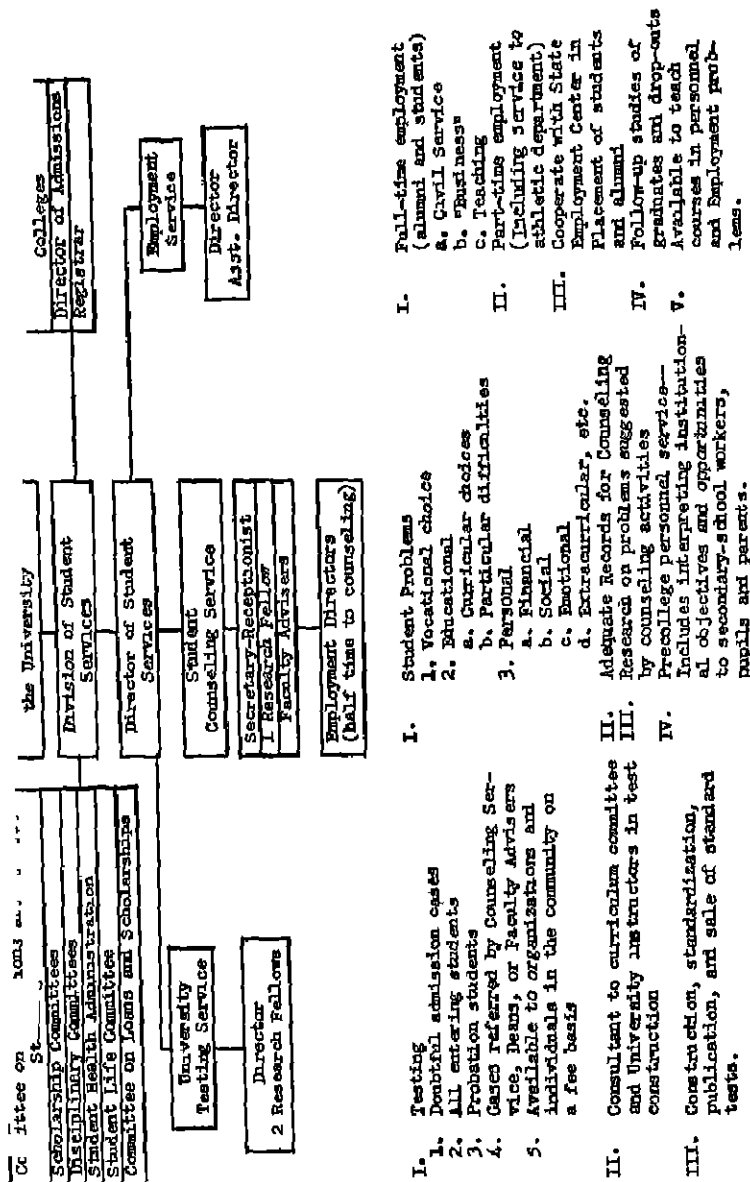
MITCHELL DREESE

During the past decade there has been a marked increase in the number of college students who look forward to a career in the public service. In 1930 the average college graduate scoffed at the idea of qualifying for a position by the civil-service route and seeking advancement within the government service. He thought of a civil-service career as synonymous with some variety of sheltered relationship for mediocre people who prized security above the opportunity for outstanding accomplishments. Then came the depression which shattered many illusions concerning the spectacular road to wealth and fortune by means of a business career and made the security of civil service quite alluring. With the rapid expansion of the activities of government under the New Deal and the meteoric rise of certain "brain trusters," more and more college students began to look for a career in the public service. This interest is still increasing and shows no sign of diminishing. Most of these students, however, have but a hazy idea of the opportunities and requirements of job openings in the government service.

The colleges and universities have responded to this popular demand by organizing special curricula in public administration, public finance, foreign commerce, etc., and adding many specialized professional courses for prospective government workers. According to a recent report of the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council there are 73 colleges which profess to offer a major, a curriculum, a special program—something more than a course useful alike to citizen and administrator. Many of these curricula have undoubtedly met a real need and are turning out graduates with a broad understanding of problems of government and sufficient technical skill to be of service on one of the lower rungs of the ladder. Too often, however, the institution of higher learning has assumed that its full responsibility to government has

been discharged when it has developed such specialized curricula and has failed to see that such responsibility cannot be allocated to any one department or even school. The activities of government today are so broad that they necessarily draw upon the total resources of a university. A university may have a school of government or of public affairs in which are housed certain specialized curricula designed to prepare for the public service, but it prepares for the public service just as truly in its law school, its school of medicine, its school of social work, its school of engineering, its school of library science, its school of education, and its other professional schools. Adequate training for the government service demands the utilization of all the material and personnel resources of an institution. Not that training for government service is the primary function of a university, for the university wishes to serve in all areas of contemporary life. Yet service to the state is such an important function of higher education that no institution of higher learning can afford to make less than its maximum contribution.

A college or university owes it both to the state and to its students to collect and disseminate information concerning opportunities for careers in the public service. Without such service, students will have only hazy conceptions as to types of openings likely to be available and the preparation desirable. In many schools the only aid along this line is the bulletin board on which are posted announcements of civil-service examinations. Vocational guidance, however, should not be limited to information concerning government careers alone but should cover the full range of vocations of likely interest to college men and women. Many colleges through the director of student personnel or director of vocational guidance have developed systematic programs of vocational guidance which begin even before the prospective student enrolls and end only when a follow-up study has been made after the graduate has been placed on the job. A program of occupational information and guidance will direct the attention of many promising students to careers in



STUDENT PERSONNEL PROGRAM ORGANIZATION CHART

be in a position to think intelligently concerning the advantages and disadvantages of a career in the public service and to choose accordingly. They will be familiar with the full range of opportunities for careers in the public service and will appreciate that training opportunities are not limited to any one school. Until colleges and universities generally apply the personnel techniques of government and industry to their students, many of the students will continue to flounder in the dark when they consider how they may fit into a career in the government service.

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INTERNSHIP TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

HENRY REINING, JR.

The learning by doing of the modern progressive school has long been a feature of vocational and professional education. The apprenticeship of the skilled craftsman has centuries of history behind it; in fact, it furnished the motif for a whole civilization—the Guild system of the Middle Ages. In an age characterized by the public-school system the apprenticeship has waned considerably, but its counterpart on the level of professional education has survived the modern day.

Government administration makes demands of its top personnel that are new in magnitude, complexity, and difficulty. The coordination of numerous regulatory activities designed to control private enterprise in tense conflict situations, the provision of indispensable social services, the execution of universal plans of insurance against dependency, the management of vast public enterprises—these are some of the newer duties of the public official. Nor are the older and more routine functions of government to be omitted; these, too, have grown in size and complexity. The administrative needs of the Government require the services of a new profession, the public administrator. A large number of American universities have recognized this need and have set up special curricula in public administration.¹ In addition to such “book learning” it is necessary for the student of public administration to acquire “practical experi-

¹ In 1937 the National Institute of Public Affairs and the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council jointly made a survey of the courses in public administration offered in American colleges and universities. This information was published in the form of a pamphlet entitled, *The Organization of Basic Courses in Public Administration*, and has been brought up to date each year. The fifth edition, covering the year 1940-1941, is entitled, *Educational Preparation for Public Administration*. Both pamphlets may be obtained from the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council, 261 Broadway, New York City.

ence." It is in this frame of reference that the Government internship program of the National Institute of Public Affairs is cast.²

The internship program is an effort to discover and select, and then to educate, train, and condition young men and women by means of an intensive year of experience in Washington. The following qualifications for eligibility are specified:

1. A bachelor's degree from a recognized college—present seniors are eligible for appointment subject to receipt of degree
2. High scholastic standing
3. Exceptional qualities of character, ability, and aptitude for leadership
4. Definite interest in public affairs
5. Good health
6. Endorsement by the college

The National Institute has painstakingly encouraged the colleges and universities to take up the task of discovering administrative talent. Accordingly, visits are planned among the higher educational institutions so as to make personal contact with the important colleges and universities at least once every two or three years. On these visits are explained the purposes of the National Institute and the quality of candidates desired. Through these personal contacts, the college faculties have been persuaded to act not only as explorers for talent but also as initiators of the selection process.

The closing date for acceptance of applications is early in February each year. The application form requires the student to give detailed information, to satisfy the six requirements listed above. A complete official transcript of his scholastic record is required, and

²The National Institute of Public Affairs is an independent educational organization, with its own Board of Trustees and staff. It is organized as a nonprofit corporation under the code of the District of Columbia, and is financed by a philanthropic foundation. Nonpartisan, its Board of Trustees consists of men who have been widely known in public affairs and have been members of both Republican and Democratic administrations: Louis Brownlow (Chairman), Director of the Public Administration Clearing House, Eugene Meyer, *Publisher of The Washington Post*, Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, George F. Zook, President of the American Council on Education, Robert Woods Bliss, former United States Ambassador to the Argentine, Robert H. Jackson, Attorney-General, George Fort Milton, National Resources Planning Board, Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress.

also a list of his academic honors, and of the extracurricular activities in which he has participated. The candidate describes any independent research or writing he has completed. He gives the rating on any Civil Service examination he has taken, and lists chronologically all former and present employment. Each applicant is asked to write an essay discussing, in a thousand words, the development of his interest in public affairs and his plans for the future.

Finally, in addition to the endorsement by the president of his collegiate institution, the applicant gives as references the names of four persons, including his faculty adviser and at least one other instructor. To each of the references the National Institute sends a detailed "reference inquiry" form. Also the Appointments Committee tries wherever possible to supplement this information by correspondence and personal conversation with persons who know the candidate.

Since the applicants have previously survived an original elimination by their colleges, the task of reading and evaluating the applications has each year been a difficult undertaking. The work is performed by a Committee on Appointments consisting of several members. The standards are necessarily comparative, within each year's group of applicants; but, in general, a candidate is not marked for further consideration unless his academic record is of Phi Beta Kappa caliber, and unless he is an outstanding student leader who shows evidence of public spiritedness.

No candidate is appointed without personal interview. These interviews take place in the most convenient centers of the United States, depending on the geographical distribution of the candidates. The interviews are not oral examinations, but are, rather, attempts to sample the candidate's personality in as normal a situation as possible.

Appointments are made without regard to the financial needs of the candidates. The internship is offered without tuition fee or other such expense to the intern, but no stipends are available for

living expenses. Since the appointees are considered as representatives of the institutions from which they come, it has been the effort of the National Institute to get the colleges to grant scholarships and fellowships to pay for personal maintenance during the year in Washington. A number of colleges and universities now offer such fellowships, varying in amount from two hundred and fifty to more than one thousand dollars. Interns who do not receive such aid are responsible for their own expenses.

Appointments are made without emphasis on any specific curricular preparation. A number of graduates have been appointed who did not concentrate in the social sciences. Most of the candidates, however, have majored in government and economics.

The internship period is nine months in duration, beginning late in September and ending early in June. The first month in Washington is organized to serve as an orientation period for the new interns. There is a two-week program of several group conferences a day with the central and departmental officers of the Government, particularly those in personnel, finance, planning, and research. The interns then continue their interviews on an individual basis. The orientation period serves to introduce the student to the atmosphere and personalities of Washington, to teach him certain facts with reference to interdepartmental activities which he will need later regardless of his placement, and also to help him crystallize his placement interest in terms of personalities as well as subject matter.

Each intern is assigned to a Government official in a training placement. This Government official is thenceforth known as his "supervisor." It is the policy of the National Institute that interns serve without salary.

With reference to the type of work which the interns do, the variety is so great that description is difficult. In general, they perform tasks for which the departments do not have regular personnel. One of the stipulations made with reference to every placement is that the intern shall not in any way displace regular employees.

Routine work is avoided, rotating assignments are provided wherever possible. Most interns confine their internship to one Government department. A number each year, however, make at least one change, following the line of development of their interest.

Although the day-to-day assignments of the intern in the Government department take up most of his time, they make up only one phase of the internship program. There are available to the interns graduate courses and seminars at the universities in Washington. The National Institute has an arrangement with the American University whereby the interns are enabled to take work without tuition. This academic work forms an excellent complement to the internship. The atmosphere of the courses is practical; most seminars are taught by Government officials; the students in the classes are Government employees. As to the choice of study courses, each intern is encouraged to fill in any deficiencies which he may have in his background; *i.e.*, fundamental courses in the social sciences and "tool" courses such as statistics, public administration, public finance, public law.

Once a week the interns meet as a group, usually with an administrative official or other public figure as guest. In the beginning of the year the meetings are usually devoted to the questions of technical administration, but toward the year's close more and more of the meetings are devoted to current public problems. A definite effort is made by means of these conferences to broaden the intern's perspective and to counterbalance the specializing effect of his day-to-day experience in the Government departments.

A fourth phase of the program is the tutorial supervision given the interns by the educational staff of the National Institute. Regular individual conferences are scheduled; also the staff is at all times available. The effort in these conferences is to help the intern coördinate his experiences, practical and academic. This task is quite important because of the variety of educational preparation which the students have.

No obligation is assumed by the National Institute or by the Federal departments for employment at the termination of the nine months of internship. However, all interns to date who have wished it have been able to secure Government employment. The Civil Service requirement has been met in many cases by advising the students well in advance to take examinations for which they are qualified.

No final conclusions can, of course, be reached at this early date of the internship training program. It is encouraging, however, that almost all of the interns who have gone through the internship experience are now employed by Government departments—Federal, State, or local—and that they seem to have been more than ordinarily successful in their work. Those connected with the program feel that both the recruitment and selection of interns and their training and conditioning constitute a significant experiment.

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CURRENT TRENDS IN PUBLIC-EMPLOYEE TRAINING

JAMES M. MITCHELL

As the Nation girds itself for defense, its public service at all levels of Government will be called upon to a steadily increasing degree not only to perform traditional services more perfectly, but to shoulder new and heavier responsibilities. Accompanying the expansion in the activities of Government there is a loss of trained personnel to the military service and to defense industries. In order to meet this emergency the process of learning must be speeded up through planned and intensive training. Fortunately, there has grown up in recent years a substantial body of experience in public-employee training, and this will provide a foundation for the necessary expansion that lies ahead.

Even as recently as a decade ago, the formal instruction of employees in the proper techniques of their day-to-day duties was an unusual occurrence; training to assume increased responsibility was an almost unheard-of idea except in a very few fields. Accompanying the unprecedented expansion in recent years of the merit system in public employment, however, and due largely to its concept of public service as an opportunity for an honorable career, employee training is now becoming an accepted fixture in every branch of the public service.

Although *in-service training*, originating with the "breaking in" of a new employee, has always been primarily a function of management, the part played by the central personnel agency and by the educator in the more recent developments has been significant. Each has aided in bringing order into the instructional program. The need for coordination of *pre-service* training with the requirement of the public service has been recognized and is receiving the attention of educators and public personnel administrators. The purpose of this discussion, however, is to outline what is being done toward establishing programs for training the employee on the job and to point out needs for further development.

The passage of the Federal George-Deen Act in 1936 served as a great impetus to the in-service training movement. The Act, which contained authorization to appropriate Federal funds for the further development of vocational education, included provisions for "public and other service occupations." The term "public-service occupations" has been liberally interpreted to extend beyond the usual concept of occupations of a trade and industrial character and to include occupations that are uniquely public such as police, fire, tax collection, and assessment of property.

At the Federal level in-service training is carried on through tuition-supported Government schools, through alternate periods of training and work which may be either optional or compulsory, through concentrated periods of training principally during working hours and consisting of short intensive courses, and through training by correspondence.

One outstanding example of the department-sponsored school is that organized in 1921 by the Department of Agriculture in Washington. It is supported largely by nominal tuition charges and is conducted outside of regular office hours. Orientation courses designed to familiarize employees with the organization and operating functions of the Department range from one- to four-week courses for clerical employees to the three-month courses offered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in preparing special agents for their work.

Activities in training at the State level have been less widespread. To a large extent, they cluster about the civil-service department, the State police, and such Federal grant-in-aid programs as welfare, health, and public roads. These programs are frequently worked out in cooperation with State universities. The State personnel departments in California, Minnesota, and Michigan have for staff members formal programs which the State universities have assisted in developing.

As a part of the establishment of standards of personnel proficiency the United States Public Health Service (and to a lesser ex-

tent, the Social Security Board and the Bureau of Public Roads) has gone a long way toward sponsoring additional training in State departments. In the case of the State departments of public health, the Federal agency reimburses the State for the cost of sending employees in key positions to universities having approved programs in public-health education. However, general training programs suitable for the large mass of State employees are rare.

Policemen and firemen were among the first of municipal employees to benefit from Government-sponsored training programs. Many of these programs were initiated by the State vocational boards. Although this training originated primarily as a period for "breaking in" the patrolman or fireman to his duties, the establishment of higher standards for the supervisory positions in these departments and the increased use of promotional examinations in many jurisdictions has resulted in a demand from employees for courses that will aid them in qualifying for increased responsibilities.

One of the largest and most extensive programs of municipal training is that carried on by the New York Municipal Civil Service Commission's Bureau of Training. This organization is reimbursed for half of its expenditures through the provisions of the George-Deen Act. In the period from January 1937 to June 1939, various municipal departments under the supervision of the Bureau conducted sixteen training courses, in which seven thousand employees participated. The fact that the employees were willing to contribute an estimated one million dollars worth of their own time for the betterment of the public service and their own advancement was evidence of the reception accorded the program.

This wholehearted support on the part of employees is a quite general characteristic. Indeed, the initial impetus for in-service training has in several instances been supplied by the employees themselves. Some of the most successful programs have been those in which employees have sat side-by-side with management in mapping out curricula and directing the day-to-day training activities. Employee organizations have also been active in sponsoring and

conducting training programs for the benefit of their membership. An example of this type of program is the training work that has been done by the California States Employees' Association.

In addition to the foregoing examples of training originated by Governmental jurisdictions and employees there has been a significant trend toward sponsorship of such programs by colleges and professional associations. The School of Government of the University of Southern California provides a number of forms of training which are enthusiastically received in an area having over 60,000 employees at the city, county, State, and Federal levels. "Sundown" classes, conducted at the Los Angeles Civic Center, combine as far as possible the need for pertinent instruction in the employee's occupation and the recognition of achievement through the granting of academic credits. In its annual two-week Institute of Government the school provides an intensive period of technical instruction in many specific fields of governmental activity. Employees, supervisors, and technicians participate through the presentation of papers and subsequent discussion.

It is worthy of note that such universities as Northwestern, Yale, and California have developed courses in police administration and traffic research. Instead of being given primarily for the benefit of the individual, which is the case in the usual in-service training course, these programs are directed principally at raising the level of technical proficiency of the department.

Another example of college sponsorship of in-service training is that offered in public administration by the University of Minnesota through its "in-service fellowships" which are granted exclusively to university graduates who are employed in the public service. In addition, in Washington, D C, the George Washington University and the American University offer many courses which are given primarily for employees of the Federal Government.

Professional associations of public agencies such as the State leagues of municipalities, and of public officials such as the International City Managers' Association, the New York State Conference

of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, and the National Recreation Association, have been very active in encouraging and in actually conducting courses. Many of the State leagues of municipalities sponsor formal training programs in fire and police administration, water-works engineering, financial administration, health sanitation, and welfare problems. The International City Managers' Association, through the Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, offers courses, instruction, and certificates in personnel, public works, fire, police, financial, and welfare administration, and in the organization and functions of municipal government. The New York State Conference of Mayors pioneered in the development of a State-wide in-service training for policemen and firemen which has been extended to twenty groups of municipal employees. This organization expanded to the point where it became desirable to recognize it as a functional part of the State government. It is now known as the Municipal Training Institute of New York State and was granted a charter by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York in 1935.

Despite the material gains which have been recorded in the last ten years and the demonstration that public-service training is here to stay, the fact is that a large per cent of the four and one-half million public employees still lack specialized training since employment is a definite challenge to those in both the general governmental and the educational fields.

An important part that may be played by educators, who are becoming increasingly aware of the distinct field of public administration, is their opportunity to train trainers. Supervisors are gradually being taught to view training as an essential and basic part of their task of supervision. As this idea takes root, the schools and departments of education can contribute materially to the development of instructional techniques which may be placed in the hands of the supervisor. These techniques should also be made available to the functional specialist who is also a trainer.

Another point at which educators can contribute to the perfection of training techniques is in the development of adequate devices for measuring the benefits derived from instructional programs. A few agencies have made efforts to validate their training techniques, among these being the New York City Bureau of Training, the Chicago Park District Police Training School, and the Michigan State Vocational Board Police Training School. However, the post-auditing of training programs through a well-designed series of subject-matter tests is still a rarity, and it is at this point that educators can bring to bear their knowledge and skill in tests and measurements.

Finally, the educational institutions of the Nation can do much to provide the leadership and coordination that is essential to the furtherance of public-employee training. The present emergency has served to focus attention on the lack of these necessary elements. As a first move in this direction, a well-staffed central informational clearing house and consulting service might well be established for the benefit of those concerned with public-service training. It is hoped that the United States Office of Education, which has made an admirable start in this direction, will continue and expand its activities. In addition, the national professional organizations in all fields have a great opportunity to render an important public service by continuing to stimulate and direct in-service training in their specialties.

In-service training of public employees is an activity that needs and can profit greatly from more active participation on the part of the educator. Granted that it is utilitarian in its objectives, it is still an important phase of adult education.

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MANAGEMENT IS TRAINING

ERIC A. NICOL

Training is taking place in every public agency. No individual can participate in any activity without habits being formed, and skill, endurance, or facility being developed. The result is good to the degree that sound leadership is applied, and such leadership can come only from the person directly responsible for the activity.

In a Government agency or any other organization this means that the training director must be the operating executive who is responsible for the work of those individuals who report to him. Because there has been ample evidence in many instances that the leadership of operating executives has been ineffective, there has developed the viewpoint that the appointment of a well-qualified training specialist will solve the problems inherent in increasing the performance and morale of employees. In many instances where such training specialists were employed, training divisions were created, and there were transferred to them certain responsibilities which they were expected to perform.

Opinions still differ as to whether or not the authority and responsibility for training functions should actually be taken away from a line executive. Many training specialists in government, however, will strenuously assert that even though training operations are conducted by a training staff, the authority and responsibilities still belong to the operating executives. They believe that this is a basic part of the service which they render to the officials of their agency. Others believe that the responsibility and control should be transferred to the training specialist and that training conferences should be conducted under the direct supervision of a specialized staff.

A NEW PHILOSOPHY

A new philosophy is now emerging in public administration, based on the assumption that training results can be accomplished

only through operating executives who supervise the employees. The typical activities of a training division or the conduct of specialized training classes do not in themselves constitute a result expected or desired. The fundamental of training is not the conducting of classes or conferences or the implementing of an individual's fund of knowledge but is the means by which the training becomes a part of the processes of management, and the responsibility for it is assumed by the regular line of supervision. The technique of training, therefore, becomes a process by which supervision is improved and a medium established to improve the understanding of what is expected of each individual by all concerned.

Naturally a training executive who is to stimulate this new philosophy will have a totally different role in many agencies in which he is now delegated the responsibility and often the authority for training policies and programs.

SOUND MANAGEMENT IS TRAINING

Management is the effective direction of people The desired result or objective of good management is the stimulation of interest and satisfactory performance. This is best achieved when every supervisor and employee understands exactly what is expected of him and has a standard or objective toward which he can strive. A major function of a manager is to define objectives, to determine how far performance departs from established objectives, and to discover ways and means of closing the gap between actual practice and desired practice. In reality this means that the basic responsibility of a manager is to determine what people can, should, and will do, and to analyze the actions of people to know what they are now doing and to develop and promote plans that will prepare and stimulate them to do better.

These are the true functions of management. When properly performed, they provide the best kind of training results. The most effective method yet developed of ensuring understanding by all

employees is called "consultative supervision." This merely means that the supervisor shares the working out of his problems with his subordinates instead of presenting the solution propounded from his own mind. When a decision is reached by the consultative process, the reasons for the final decision will be better understood by those who have contributed to it and it will receive more sympathetic treatment in its execution. The subsequent necessity for explanation and continuing clarification will be greatly minimized, if not entirely eliminated.

THE TRAINING PROCESS

The application of these principles calls for a medium through which individuals on every level of the organization will have the opportunity to discuss with their immediate superiors the activities of the agency, where they fit into the organization, and what is expected of them. These discussions should show how such activities relate to the functions of each employee and should be carried on in the same spirit of cooperative planning which is shown at a meeting of individuals on any one level, such as a board of directors meeting. A free flow of thinking should be maintained from the bottom of the organization to the top and from the top to the bottom.

The development of this group discussion regarding all the policies and functions of an agency or one of its divisions by every major supervisor is a slow and continuous one. There naturally will be circumstances in which new policies must be made known and understood and the necessary personnel geared to carry on a new program within a short period. During this period the complaint may arise that executives and supervisors have not the time to spare for telling their employees what is going on because each day is filled with the immediate details needing attention to keep things going. In a busy organization, emergency periods seem to be continuous and the opportunity to take time off to establish objectives and to review organization problems seems remote.

Somehow, sometime, we must neglect a day's duties or get some one else to do them so as to establish the course for tomorrow before unsurmountable problems do arise. Tomorrow always comes, and there are just as many immediate duties; in the daily pursuit of these duties a course for the organization is made, either with or without charting it.

There is, unfortunately, no short cut to integrating an organization and developing efficient and satisfactory performance. The determination of policy and administration of the agency, including the establishment of a medium of training and ensuring an understanding by all concerned of what is expected of them, is the task of the top executives. Certainly it is not the task of those whose work the management is supposed to be guiding. It cannot be delegated to a staff agency or training specialist but must be assumed by the executives in the line of operation with whatever staff assistance may be provided.

TRAINING OR MANAGEMENT FORMULA

A process that develops a basis for mutual discussion at every level of operation has been established in some public agencies and industrial organizations. It has stood the test of time and has worked continuously over a number of years. The methods by which it is applied in various organizations differ considerably, but in all a basis has been established for discussing methods and techniques of work, and many of the problems of management have been reduced to a minimum.

This new philosophy of management provides the background for training activities conducted within industry by such companies as Socony Vacuum Oil Company,¹ the Bell Telephone System's companies, and the General Foods Corporation. In Government,

¹ The formula outlined in this article has resulted from the management-training program activities of the Socony Vacuum Corporation. A more detailed description can be found in the writings of Mr. L. A. Appley, Director of Training for that company.

the program being conducted under the leadership of Commissioner Flemming in the United States Civil Service Commission is an excellent illustration of this new approach to management and training operations.

The Civil Service Commission established its management program early in 1939 and is reaping the benefit of the consultative process: closer coöperation between the divisions of the agency, better understanding of the functions to be performed, and improved performance. The Management Training Formula established by the Commission is quoted as follows:

1. Clarification of organizational structure
2. Standards of performance
3. Individual analyses. Present performance as compared with standards of performance; that is, comparison of how a thing is being done with how it should be done. If a gap is found between the present performance and the standards of performance the supervisor should—
 4. Determine the *help* and information *needed* to close the gap and—
 5. The *source* where such help and information can be obtained and—
 6. Set a *time schedule* for closing the gap by training

Organization clarification. The activities that must be performed should be carefully and clearly defined. When these activities are divided into organization units and individual position descriptions, the employee is clear whether or not he is doing what is expected of him. This particular step is usually referred to as a "job analysis." It is the process of clarifying the entire organization in writing and making it perfectly possible for any individual to know where he fits into the entire picture and to appreciate the part that he plays in it.

If carried through in a reasonable fashion, such an analysis helps to eliminate misunderstanding and jealousy resulting from assumed or real overlapping of jobs. It reduces the possibility of conflicting responsibility. Employees can visualize the possibilities for progression and all can be educated as to what the others in the organization are doing.

Standards of performance. A statement should be developed of conditions resulting from satisfactory performance of the job. Such a statement clarifies in the mind of the employee what his boss expects of him and the goal toward which he is working. It makes it possible for a worker to go home at night knowing whether or not he has done his work well. A manager, supervisor, or foreman should have definite standards for each activity based upon the overall objective and should know what constitutes a job well done in terms of the success of the whole undertaking. Only when supervisors know what constitutes good performance can employees also be expected to understand it. The elimination of uncertainties has a stabilizing effect.

Individual analysis. A simple method should be developed of comparing the present performance of each person with the achievement desired. This would mean that every individual will know from time to time exactly where he stands in the eyes of the management. If standards of performance have been established there is an objective or goal with which to compare what is actually being done.

This phase of the formula should not be confused with methods for judging individual characteristics. The emphasis should be only on factors that have to do with actual performance on the job. If the employee is doing his work satisfactorily, his personal characteristics must be all right for the job. Lack of satisfactory performance is a signal for further investigation of personal liabilities.

Every employee should know how well he is doing his job, where his weaknesses are, and what the opportunities for self-improvement are. He should get such information from his superior, who cannot indulge in generalities but must be specific and to the point.

Help and information required. Whenever the deficiencies or weaknesses of an individual or group of employees become apparent and are defined, it is necessary to determine how they can be corrected and what additional help and information is required. This analysis will result in a plan of action developed by employees

on every level and their superiors for bringing about improvement. The application of this phase of the formula allows the supervisor to tabulate what training is needed and provides each employee with a definite program of individual development. This is where the real function of management comes to the front.

Source of help. Where it is found that employees need further formal education, such often can be supplied by the schools and colleges in the vicinity. Special technical knowledge can come from other sources: the vocational schools and colleges, other industries with similar types of occupations, specialists within the agency, available books and pamphlets, and manuals and reports. Personality or habit problems that are affecting production or efficiency are the responsibility of the immediate superior. Assistance regarding method of correction can be secured from specialists both inside and outside the agency, but the employees should become conscious of the fact that the best source of help is the boss himself.

When this phase of the program has been applied generally to any group of supervisors and employees and the other steps followed in logical sequence, there will be evidence of real personnel development and improved performance.

Time schedule. A definite time schedule should be established for group staff meetings necessary to clear the organization activities and relationships, to establish policies and objectives, to determine the specific individual assignments and performance standards, and to provide the necessary continuous review and changes that will develop from the day-to-day experience. The individual analysis and the required help and information become part of daily supervision in improving job assignments, but this human-relations job will be crowded out if it is not organized and a time schedule maintained for it. When the employee sees that the management is sincere and has a definitely scheduled program arranged at regular intervals, he develops a belief in, and conviction of, the

soundness and helpfulness of the management. The employee will respond to the extent to which his superiors enter into the activity.

APPLICATION OF THE TRAINING FORMULA

This formula, as outlined, will apply to any situation where individual development and improved performance are designed regardless of the kind of people or the nature of the activity. There is not a long and complicated procedure involved in addition to present operations. The whole activity becomes a guide in simplifying the management process and provides a medium through which the whole organization can be given adequate direction.

One effect of using this formula will be the removal of the necessity for a great many "rump" conferences and provide a remedy for many of the problems that there is no time to discuss in the rush of day-to-day activities. There are always questions of the moment that have to be settled, but if an analysis were made of the hundreds of meetings and interviews in any good-sized organization, it would be found that much of the discussion is of policy, procedure, or individual relationships. By the formula suggested, these questions are regularly determined, cleared with all concerned, and kept up to date, thus rendering superfluous many of the conferences previously held.

The usual procedure for putting this formula into effect is to organize each level of the agency as a council or conference, similar to the staff meeting of the director, called an "A" Council. (The United States Civil Service Commission, where such a program has been in effect for a year, uses the term "Conference Groups.") These Councils are formed by having each person who is in a supervisory position meet regularly with those who are immediately responsible to him. In other words, with the exception of the worker who has no supervision over any one and the director, who is the ultimate authority and the chairman of the top group, each individual is a

member of one discussion group and chairman of another. For example, the General Counsel would sit in on a conference group, or "A" Council, with other branch chiefs at which some fundamental problem is discussed or the subject of a broad policy introduced. Having absorbed the viewpoints discussed by this group and after studying the minutes of the meeting itself, he then calls together his immediate staff, which would constitute a "B" Council, and goes over the same material with them. Each member of that group in turn meets with the people under him (a "C" Council), and so on down the line until the broad policy reaches the last worker in the division. The same process can be followed with the field organization with far-reaching results. Conversely, the benefits to be gained work both ways. Because the same individual sits in on two conferences, an unbroken chain of communication is created from top to bottom and vice versa. As problems are defined and discussed down in the organization in these discussions, they come back up through each group until ultimately they reach the top group, if they need to go that far for final decision. With such a system, thought-provoking material can be produced at the top and filter all the way down and, in turn, the top may benefit from some of the ideas generated by those closer to the actual operation.

In practice, many executives have found that their personal interests lead them to concentrate on certain parts of their work at the expense of other equally important factors in the business. One executive, for example, was always "bogged down" with details, nearly all of which, as the result of the more enlightened management methods, he now finds he can delegate. He is now directing an organization of 600 people, manages to keep himself free to formulate and act on over-all policies, and is giving adequate supervision instead of doing the work of his subordinates.

Meetings of councils in various organizations last anywhere from three hours to an entire day each month. (Civil Service "A" Con-

ference meets weekly each Monday from 3 00 p. m. to 10 00 p.m. "B" and "C" Conferences meet for the same period on other days of the week.) Any process of reorganization or change requires extra hours of time in preparation and for the building of a new structure. For the first six months or more this process is time consuming. In the end it is a time saver.

ROLE OF TRAINING SPECIALIST

A training director cannot be responsible for this type of management-training program. He should be the technical or staff adviser of the methods used. But it is not difficult to visualize what a splendid opportunity the conference program provides for getting the objectives of a training program applied. In companies or agencies where this kind of program operates, the training director is busier than he was when charged with a centralized program, but his activities are more important to his organization and are always geared to the actual operating problems.

Under this kind of program the responsibility of the line executives for training their own subordinates has been definitely established. The conference groups are conducted to train them in better supervision and more adequate leadership. This removes from the shoulders of the training director the details and headaches of a centralized school type of program and leaves him free for the much more interesting and challenging task of counseling with the whole organization on human-relations problems and helping operating officials to stimulate more effectively the interest and satisfaction of their employees.

Under these circumstances he automatically becomes an adviser to top management. This relationship is essential to his effectiveness. He is not the expert in organization, in planning methods, or in the functions for which the organization exists but he can implement the process which controls their effectiveness.

THE MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY

The leadership of training activities must come first from the chief executive of any agency or organization. The success of the training program in the future will depend upon the extent to which responsibility and authority are delegated down through the regular line of supervision. The extra burden placed upon the executives not now assuming this responsibility will be overbalanced by the elimination of problems and responsibilities inherent in the present system and which every one is trying to load on the shoulders of training specialists. The system that puts the whole job of training where it belongs—in the operating agencies—is far better than one that separates the problem into a central department and gives the training staff all the headaches.

The services of full-time specialists in most agencies are essential and will be more effective when they are free to render advisory service in the development and application of sound policies. Helping another executive to get the credit for a good job done is more satisfactory than striving for credit for ourselves.

THE SOCIAL RESULT

In the management of any organization the executives are dealing with the vagaries of human nature. Employees must be fitted together harmoniously and effectively; this means that consideration must be given to attitudes, behaviors, and other characteristics of the staff. A demoralized organization will result from efforts to force persons into patterns to which they are unable to adjust themselves or which they do not understand.

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- New Adventures in Democracy: Practical Applications of the Democratic Idea*, by Ordway Tead. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939, 229 pages, \$2.00
- State Personnel Administration, with Special Reference to Departments of Education*, by Katherine A. Frederic. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1939, 267 pages, \$.35.
- Training Procedure*, by Frank Cushman. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1940, 220 pages, \$2.00.

PUBLICATIONS OF CIVIC AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

Pamphlets, periodicals, and articles of the following group deal with Federal, State, and local civil service and personnel administration. In some cases there is a small charge for publications.

Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, Ill.

National Civil Service Reform League, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
Society for Personnel Administration, Post Office Box 266, Washington, D. C.

EXPERIMENTS IN LEADERSHIP TRAINING

LESLIE DAY ZELENY

Of vital importance in the modern world are persons competent to play the role of group leader. Strangely enough, little experimental work has been done to determine whether or not leaders can be developed. It is the purpose of this article to present a brief review of one leadership training experiment and to add some corroboratory experiments made by the writer.

The only experimental study published to date was made by Eichler,¹ who conducted four parallel and equated group experiments with school students. Experimental groups were given leadership instruction which consisted largely of explanations of the meaning and importance of initiative, physical fitness, loyalty, teamwork, personality, purpose, kindliness, good humor, knowledge of human nature, self-confidence, and cooperation. Control groups were given no special instruction in leadership. Members of experimental and control groups were rated in leadership by their associates before and after the period of training. In each of four carefully controlled experiments, the group given instruction in leadership received a slightly higher rating by their fellows than those without instruction. Of special significance was Eichler's fourth experiment in which he gave both instruction and practice in leadership. For the length of time involved, this plan made the greatest changes in leadership rating. Eichler concluded from his experiments that "leadership qualities can be measurably improved by direct instruction," and that practice in addition to instruction is important.

In an endeavor to corroborate these studies, the writer carried on some experiments with college students. The problem was: can persons by training be improved in ability to lead discussion in

¹ George A. Eichler, *Studies in Student Leadership*. Penn State Studies in Education, No. 10 (State College, Pennsylvania, 1934)

groups? A series of experiments were conducted in an attempt to answer this question.

First, a class of 19 students in introductory sociology was ranked in leadership by the use of the five-man-to-man technique. (Each student was rated five times by eighteen others)² Then 10 of the 19 students were selected at random (every other student taken) for leadership training. The training was in two parts: The experimental group was given verbal training ten minutes a day for four days a week during a period of three weeks. In this brief time the leadership trainees were given an explanation of the meaning of the following traits of leaders: prestige (esteem), knowledge, forcefulness, insight, steadiness of purpose, participation, quickness of decision, finality of decision, self-confidence, tact (likeableness), appearance, voice (pleasant), and self-control. Stress was placed upon *knowledge, participation, and "likeableness."* Students were urged to exercise immediately these traits in the class discussion groups³ which met the following class period. Thus Eichler's recommendation to provide an opportunity for both instruction and practice in leadership was followed.

Five weeks after the preliminary rating in leadership, the five-man-to-man scheme was again administered to the entire class. The comparison of the number of votes received by the members of experimental and control groups both before and after the experimental period showed the experimental group scored +4.2 higher than the control group. This difference of +4.2 is more than three times the standard deviation and the experimental coefficient of 1.82 indicates that the chances are nearly twice practical certainty that the difference is greater than zero.

² See E. De Alton Partridge, *Leadership Among Adolescent Boys*, Contributions to Education, No. 608 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934). This technique is highly reliable, correlations of reliability being over .94.

³ Under the discussion-group plan the class is divided into groups of five each under selected leaders. These groups discuss problems under supervision of the instructor. This plan is vital to leadership training and will be described in detail in a later publication.

This study shows the same results as Eichler's and suggests that a college student, conscious of the traits demanded of a leader and who has the immediate opportunity to practise leadership, will develop these qualities.

Finally, as a further check, experiments using experimental and control groups were conducted on a larger scale. Students in control classes had no instruction or practice in leadership, and were in classes conducted on the conventional recitation-discussion plan; those in the experimental classes received leadership instruction and the opportunity for daily leadership practice in discussion groups. At the end of stated periods the different classes were administered rating sheets which included rating in leadership development.

This rating survey, using large numbers and repeated four times, shows best results for the group having instruction and practice in leadership.

A final and more accurate check was made on the findings reported just above. A more carefully prepared rating sheet was drawn up and given to the total membership of two large classes—which had completed ten weeks of study—one using the group method which provided leadership training and the other using the traditional class discussion method. The result shows a statistically significant difference in favor of those having leadership training.

All experimental evidence presented in this article indicates that leadership ability can be developed by instruction and practice in leadership. We note, however, that some persons profit much more from instruction and practice than do others.

These experiments all extended over short periods of time, one may venture to mention the possible amazing results that might occur if training and practice in leadership were extended over a period of several years.

Before concluding, a word of caution should be given. It is of vital importance that instruction and practice in leadership deal with groups much like groups to be found in daily life in ordinary com-

munities This view is supported by the careful study of Page⁵ who showed that student leaders at West Point were no more likely than other students to become leaders in afterlife. This is extreme, no doubt, because of the unusual isolation and specialization of West Point training. A careful study of high-school graduates by Courtenay,⁶ using experimental and control groups, showed that high-school leadership tended to persist after graduation—but there was a great loss in leadership—while high-school nonleaders increased their community participation.

Leadership, it may be said, persists as long as the group is the same. When the configuration or pattern of relationships of the group changes, new qualities are demanded of leaders. If the old leaders do not adjust—new leaders will be chosen.

If leaders (or followers) are to be developed for participation in civic groups, the practice must be done in groups of a character similar to real life groups; only in this way can the effort expended in instruction be expected to show good returns in terms of practical performance.

⁵ David P. Page, "Measurement and Prediction of Leadership," *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 41 (July 1935) pp. 31-43.

⁶ Mary Ethel Courtenay, "Persistence of Leadership," *School Review*, No. 46 (February 1938) pp. 97-107.

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RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send in at once to the editor of this department titles, and where possible descriptions, of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology.

DOCTORS' DISSERTATIONS AT PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

The School of Education has joined with the other schools of the Pennsylvania State College in making its dissertations available on microfilms.¹ The plan includes:

1. A volume of four- or five-page abstracts of all doctors' dissertations of the university published by the university.
2. A film of each complete dissertation, copies of which may be purchased from the producer, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, or borrowed from the Library of the Pennsylvania State College.
3. A volume published by University Microfilms annually, listing all of the dissertations of the cooperating universities.

A few of the dissertations will be printed at the expense of the author in addition to being filmed, but most recipients of the degree will not be willing to assume voluntarily the extra cost of such publication.

A few of the doctors' theses available in printed form from the Pennsylvania State College which may be of interest to students in the field of educational sociology are the following:

Elmer W. Cressman, "The Out-of-School Activities of Junior High School Pupils in Relation to Intelligence and Socio-Economic Status." 131 pages.

George A. Eichler, "Studies in Student Leadership" 55 pages. (An analysis of the components of leadership by the partial regression technique and three controlled experiments on the possibility of improving leadership through instruction.)

E. K. Robb, "An Experimental Study of the Results of the Direct and the Incidental Methods of Instruction in Character Education" (Lithotyped—abstract in large type and the whole thesis in miniature.)

¹ These are produced by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Andrew Triche, "A Comparative Study of Vocational Education in the Forty-eight States." 47 pages.

A FIVE-YEAR STUDY OF HEALTHY AND ACTIVE STUDENTS

As the result of a generous gift from the Grant Foundation extended to Harvard University, the Hygiene Department of the University under the direction of Dr. Arlie V. Bock is in the midst of a five-year study of "the forces that have produced normal young men." The study, which began in the fall of 1938, has specially equipped headquarters on the campus and its staff includes a physician, psychologist, psychiatrist, physiologist, anthropologist, social worker, and two secretaries.

In explaining the nature and purposes of the study, Dr. Bock said.

"Doctors traditionally have dealt with their patients after trouble of many varied sorts has risen. The Department of Hygiene of Harvard, in a special study made possible by the Grant Foundation, proposes to revise this procedure, and will attempt to analyze the forces that have produced normal young men. The term 'normal' means that combination of sentiments and physiological factors which in toto is commonly interpreted as successful living. All admit that the sick need care, but very few apparently have thought it necessary to make a systematic inquiry as to how people keep well and do well. The care of the sick may be construed as a negative attack, while the study of the well should be a positive one, and for this reason should yield results that may point the way to the solution of many present difficulties.

"A body of facts is needed to replace current suppositions. All of us need more 'do's' and less 'don't's.' To this end the Study proposes no innovation in the technique of medicine. It proposes merely to use existing and generally accepted methods, applying them to the study of the total constitution and personality of well, successful young men.

"What should a healthy young man gain from such a study? Two reasons appear to give an adequate answer to this question. The first is that each man who participates in this work, even in the early stages of the study, will learn more about his capacity, aptitudes, and interests, and thus more nearly realize the meaning of the old precept 'know thyself.' The second is that he will, through the data obtained, make a contribution to those who follow him, an objective shared commonly by all responsible people.

"It would not be possible to conduct a study of this kind at the age level considered, outside of a university environment. Harvard has the confidence of its students. It is believed that students cooperating with the

members of the staff will make a memorable contribution to their own well-being and to the process of education in its broadest sense.

"Facilities for the Study have been provided in new offices adjacent to the Hygiene Building, Mr. William T. Grant, Chairman of the Board of the W. T. Grant Company, and his associates of the Grant Foundation, in making this study possible, have confirmed medical judgment that the time is ripe to attempt the work."

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Social Science Research Council exists for the one comprehensive purpose of advancing the study of man in his relations to man.

The Council is a corporation, chartered under the laws of the State of Illinois. The members of the corporation, thirty in number, constitute also its board of directors. Of these members, twenty-one are elected for three-year terms by seven national scientific societies: American Anthropological Association, American Economic Association, American Historical Association, American Political Science Association, American Psychological Association, American Sociological Society, and American Statistical Association. The remaining nine directors are members-at-large appointed for one- or two-year terms by the board itself.

The board of directors meets usually twice a year. Its work is done through an extensive committee system and a staff. Besides an executive committee which controls administration and exercises all powers of the board of directors between meetings, there is an important central committee on problems and policy. Virtually all business clears through this latter body before going to the board or to the executive committee. This central committee is assisted by a considerable number of continuing advisory committees, often with subcommittees of their own. There are also committees charged with operating particular enterprises, such as the administration of fellowships. With the exception of the executive committee, and of three ex-officio members of problems and policy, committee members are generally not members of the board of directors but are chosen solely on the basis of their suitability.

The Council has also a staff, consisting of an executive director, a varying number (one to three in the past) of research secretaries to aid in the planning and development of research in specific areas, a secretary for fellowships and grants-in-aid of research, a controller, and the necessary office assistants.

BOOK REVIEWS

City Management, by HENRY HODGES. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1939, xx + 759 pages

This is a comprehensive study of "the theory and practice of municipal administration." After a brief introduction which emphasizes the growing importance of municipal government, the author discusses specific problems such as civil service, personnel management, finance, zoning, housing, public health, education, police, public utilities—a total of twenty-five

Throughout the book, the author maintains a judicious point of view, neither extolling nor condemning without reservation in terms of limitations inherent within the total situation. He believes that active participation in community government by every citizen will contribute much to the maintaining of wholesome city administration. At the end of each chapter is a series of stimulating questions under the caption, "What do you think?"

Foremanship and Supervision, by FRANK CUSHMAN. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., second edition, 1938, xxi + 286 pages.

When the first edition of this little volume was published in 1928, it was a pioneer in the field of conference techniques as a means of instruction. The conference method is now in common use but the book is still a pioneer in its field as the revised edition embodies the gains achieved through twelve years of experience.

The first part presents general principles and methods in the use of conferences. Part II applies these principles to training for foremanship and Part III to vocational education. Those responsible for training for public service will find this book of very great value both in its clear statement of general principles and in its practical suggestions.

Introduction to the Study of Public Administration, by LEONARD D. WHITE. New York: The Macmillan Company, revised edition, 1939, xiii + 613 pages.

With an ever increasing percentage of the population drawing its income through public service and the unprecedented rise of special governmental agencies, the materials of this volume become all the more

important both to the student of political science and to the layman who would understand the administration of public affairs. It will also be of value to the public official himself who seeks to see his work in its larger context.

The book is written from the administrative rather than the legal point of view. It summarizes the trends, structure, and organization of public administration with separate sections on fiscal management, personnel, and lines of responsibility and control. Specific illustrations are drawn from many fields.

Your Federal Civil Service, by JAMES C. O'BRIEN AND PHILIP P. MARENBERG. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1940, xvi + 501 pages.

Within the past two years the Civil Service Commission has received more than three million requests for information regarding its operations and distributed more than eighteen million application blanks and circulars. In this very interesting volume, the authors have sifted these inquiries and have answered them in a clear, concise manner, devoid of technical verbiage and legal phraseology.

The entire relationship of the individual to the civil service from the time he applies for the examination to receipt of his retirement allowance is presented. Chapters deal with such practical problems as filling out the application forms, the written and oral examinations, the right of appeal, and so-called civil-service schools. Illustrations of types of questions are included.

Each of the several hundred thousand applicants for the 40,000 civil-service jobs to be filled this year will find much of value in this volume, as well as the more than a million now in Government service. It will also be of interest to the layman who still questions whether Government jobs are filled by "pull" or by impartial tests of ability.

Montgomery County Survey, by the Survey Board, Public Administration Service, Chicago, 1940, xix + 529 pages.

This report on local governmental services in Dayton and Montgomery Counties, Ohio, was made through a special survey board appointed by a citizens' committee. Although initiated because there were not sufficient funds to keep the schools open, it is a comprehensive inquiry into all local governmental resources and services. It includes a detailed

analysis of the public schools and shows their relationship to the total problem of public administration. Specific recommendations are made for closer coordination of all of the units of government and the other agencies of the community.

The factual data and their interpretation in terms of human values will make a significant contribution to the fields of education, social service, and public administration. It should be an excellent reference for students in sociology, education, and political science.

Opportunities in Government Service, by L. J. O'ROURKE. New York: Garden City Publishing Company, 1940, xii + 307 pages.

The subtitle "getting a job in federal, state, or municipal government" is an accurate description of this book. The author describes general procedures of applying for a job in civil service, the examinations, appointment, transfer, and in-service training. These general data are followed by separate treatment of more than twenty specific fields of public service, such as clerical occupations, postal service, engineering, drafting, agriculture, statistics, and social welfare. The appendices include samples of general ability test items, typical positions, and the addresses of both civil-service districts and Federal agencies not under civil service.

The book is written primarily to assist those who are seeking to procure an appointment to public service but has a broader appeal in its clear presentation of the complex pattern of civil-service policies and practice.

The Politics of Democracy, by PENDLETON HERRING. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1940, xx + 468 pages.

This is a realistic treatment of modern politics, including machine control, pressure politics, propaganda, patronage, and bureaucracy. The author believes that democracy is not alone a theory of government but is even more determined by the practices that have developed, many of which have no legal authority. The weight of tradition and the force of common law have acted as a deterrent to change, even though circumstances have made such change desirable.

The chapter on patronage is a frank analysis of its dangers as well as its values in surrounding the elected official with those who are sympathetic with his policies. The expansion of civil service and some of the problems inherent in such expansion are given careful consideration.

The student of political science, those interested in public service, and

the general public who seek to understand politics and democracy will find the reading of this book both stimulating and profitable.

Municipal Administration, by J. McDONALD PRIFFER. New York: Ronald Press, 1940, xvi + 582 pages.

This book, written primarily as a text for the continually increasing number of courses in the field of public administration, is an interesting and comprehensive study of the many aspects of public service. The author briefly traces the historical development of the various phases of Government service, but denotes major attention to the problems arising from a continually increasing number of employees looking to Government for positions. Excellent discussion of personnel problems, the interrelationship of staff and line administration and supervision, and of questions of finance and management make it of value both as a text and as a source of information for those who seek to understand better the complexities of public administration.

Administration of Public Welfare, by R. CLYDE WHITE. New York: American Book Company, 1940, 541 pages.

The author is professor of social-service administration at the University of Chicago. The book is planned as an elementary text dealing with all kinds of public-welfare services as well as the types of organization. Problems of finance, personnel, public relations, and others are discussed against the background of basic social changes. The author stresses the need for closer coordination of all public-welfare services.

Although the book covers only one field of public service, it contains illustrative material that is of real worth to those in any phase of public administration or service.

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INSTIGATION TO CRITICISM

It is an extraordinary thing that the most popular form of entertainment, and the most effective form of communication, in the world is subject to virtually no criticism. It is scolded and gossiped about, but even in the daily press it has no continuous criticism.

The theater, books, concert hall music, all of which together do not affect the lives of a million people directly, flourish on criticism; radio lacks it, as the motion pictures did in their formative period.

Years after the motion pictures developed their characteristic faults, and in a transition stage when their pristine virtues were obscured, people cried out against Hollywood and all its works, forgetting that their own negligence and indifference were at least partly to blame. The same thing has already happened to radio. Those who could have helped radio to develop, but scorned it, now complain that radio isn't what they would like it to be.

This does not apply to the educators of America. Their contributions to—and errors in—radio are expounded in the following pages. But indifference is not one of them. Their constant criticism has certainly interested many broadcasters; the uninterrupted collaboration of education and radio is, as it has been for years, profoundly important.

More analysis of radio, from many sources, is desirable; more understanding of the problems of radio is also wanted. This issue of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* is the beginning, I hope, of a groundwork of continuing appraisal.

I have tried to bring together general views of the subject, from men in radio, from educators in and not in radio; and have added studies of special subjects by experts.

Some of the latter arrived too late for inclusion here; so the May issue of this *JOURNAL* will continue the discussion of education and radio.

The contributors to both of these issues have my deepest thanks. No one whom I asked for a paper refused, and many made their contributions in the midst of most exigent demands on their time and energy.

They recognized the importance of the subject which the editors of this *JOURNAL* had chosen—and placed in my hands to develop. I thank the editors, too, for giving me the opportunity to present this distinguished group of Americans who are concerned with one of the few hopeful phenomena of our time.

GILBERT SELDES

Gilbert Seldes, Television Program Director for Columbia Broadcasting System, began his connection with the entertainment world in 1914, soon after his graduation from Harvard, when he became music critic for the *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*. During the War he became a correspondent at the front and, after a period in the United States army, emerged in 1918 as Washington political correspondent for *L'Echo de Paris*. The following year he became associate editor of *Collier's* and in 1920 joined *The Dial* in the same capacity, later becoming its managing editor. Since then he has written drama reviews and other columns for New York papers and has published some dozen books.

THE BROADCASTER SPEAKS

NEVILLE MILLER

There are educators who sincerely doubt whether radio *can* educate—whether it can impose those essential disciplines upon which true education is based. There are others who deplore every moment in which radio is not offering austere beauty, loftiness of soul, subtlety of mind, to an audience of 100 million people of all ages, backgrounds, habits, inclinations, and previous condition of enlightenment.

The broadcasters are aware of their critics. The broadcasters have, in fact, met criticism more than halfway, putting into critical hands the job of plotting the course of education in radio.

The one thing the broadcaster dare not do is to take away the radio from the people by making it too good for daily human use. He can, and significantly does, raise the level of his offerings—not only the broadcaster, but the sponsor brings to the public more, more varied, and more valuable programs. The broadcaster must continue to do this, or lose the certificate of social advantage which the public gives him.

Radio is a medium of communication; its social value—its moral value—must be measured not only by what it communicates, but by the number of those who receive its messages. If radio were content to deliver only utterances of the noblest import to a small number of people, it would stultify itself—and presently it would kill itself. The very nature of the instrument, the very meaning of the word broadcast compel radio to seek the great audience. But beyond that, radio's popularity is a social phenomenon, a positive factor in the fight for freedom. It is where radio was not "popular" that it became part of the machinery of dictatorship; when it is popular, it is on the side of the people. Moreover, people will fight for their entertainment, feeling that it is a part of their freedom.

In its brief years, broadcasting in America has created a universal audience; and radio is effective in political debate, in transmitting essential information, in raising the level of cultural appreciation because it has, first of all, *created* an audience. That audience may begin by tuning in to a trifling diversion, it stays on to hear a subtle analysis of the state of international affairs, to hear Aeschylus discussed by scholars, to listen to a masterly concert by a symphony orchestra

But the habit of listening had to be created first

The broadcaster knows what men live by—and tries to satisfy the basic human appetites—not to corrupt them; and, having won the confidence of all men, he offers his miraculous medium to those who are competent to elevate and inspire. The instrument is placed in their hands—not as often, not as freely, as they would wish. As they learn to use it more skillfully they will do what all broadcasters do—enlarge their audience. That is part of the democratic system. At any given moment, it may seem that the appeal to numbers always involves an appeal to the lowest. But in the long run, the level rises; and humanity is more intelligent and more humane now than it was when education was a monopoly of the rich and well-born. We may know less Latin, but we know more about the obligations and opportunities by which free men can live together.

Neville Miller is president of the National Association of Broadcasters and Broadcast Music Incorporated. He was formerly dean in the University of Louisville Law School and later served as mayor of Louisville. Also served as assistant to the president of Princeton University. A.B. 1916, Princeton; LL.B. 1920, Harvard

PROMOTING THE CAUSE OF EDUCATION BY RADIO

*What Are the Functions of the United States Office
of Education?*

JOHN W. STUDEBAKER

This year we celebrate two anniversaries: the five hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing, and the twentieth anniversary of commercial broadcasting. We pay tribute to two marvels of communication which daily, indeed, hourly, give Americans ringside seats at all world events, which entertain us in leisure hours; and which, by reporting the past, permit us to be participants of all recorded history. We Americans buy and read 42,000,000 newspapers every day. We listen to the radio 126,000,000 hours per week. We choose freely from 106,772,000 volumes in our American libraries. Our 30,000,000 students use an estimated average of 6 textbooks per student per year.

Some authorities say radio has grown so swiftly it has outdistanced five-hundred-year-old print in two short decades. They say that eighty per cent of American families own radios; that these radios are turned on an average of five hours per day. And then they ask, Can any other medium of communication match that?

The answer is not especially important to any one outside the advertising department. What is important is this: That radio plus print, plus motion pictures, plus classroom instruction, plus other forms of communication occupies a very large proportion of our waking hours. This is the age of communication. And because education is communication the development of any form of communication is vital to education.

When we think of Gutenberg and the invention of printing, we think of Gutenberg's famous Bibles. Before he printed Bibles Guten-

berg printed school books—a Latin grammar called the Donatus. It is significant that these grammars were so much used that only fragments exist today. Education, employer of printing almost since the day it was invented, stands equally eager to use the youngest of the great family of communication inventions—radio.

The immediate question of this article is. How can the United States Office of Education assist the American people in the wider and more successful use of this new invention—radio—for the advancement of education?

This is a question which ultimately must be answered by the people themselves through their elected representatives in Congress. Therefore, I shall in the following paragraphs raise questions of what kinds of assistance your United States Office of Education might provide to “promote the cause of education by radio.” And with each question I shall supply certain information which may help the reader make up his own mind.

1. *Should the United States Office of Education supply to educators, radio-station managers, and other interested persons up-to-date information on developments in education by radio?* At the present time the United States Office of Education receives more than 2,000 radio letters per month from teachers, citizens, school officials, and radio-station managers. Many of these ask for scripts, which I shall mention later. But a large number seek information on developments in radio. What educational radio programs are available? Where can one go to study education by radio? What are good sources of scripts and transcriptions? These letters come to the United States Office of Education because this Office historically is the established national center for gathering and disseminating information regarding education. They also come because there is no other national center or organization which has shouldered this task. The National Advisory Council on Radio in Education built up an extensive library on radio, but this organization has been dis-

banded. Nor could a seeker for knowledge write to a national association for the promotion of education by radio, because no such association has yet been formed.

Congress, ten years ago, recognized the need when it established in the United States Office of Education the position of Senior Specialist in Education by Radio. So the Office began to serve this new expanding field with one man and a secretary. The Office issued a few bulletins, bibliographies, and answered correspondence. In ten years there have been built up extensive files, many sources of information, bibliographies, and other aids—which facilitate the discharge of the function to supply information.

2. *Should the Office of Education operate an Educational Radio Script Exchange?* No commercial station in the United States, so far as I know, creates all of its own programs. In fact, many stations create very few original programs. They depend on New York, Chicago, and Hollywood for network and transcribed programs. They use phonograph records made in metropolitan centers. One of the reasons for education's weakness in the use of radio has been that educators, unlike commercial operators, have never learned to lean on one another for programs. The educational stations have tried to create twelve hours a day of original programs, an undertaking which no commercial station would attempt. Therefore, it would seem that, if the best products of educational effort in radio could be exchanged, the path of progress for education could be made easier. With this in mind, the United States Office of Education established in 1936, with emergency relief funds and assistance from the Federal Radio Education Committee, the Educational Radio Script Exchange. Six scripts under the general title "Interviews with the Past" were prepared especially for high-school use and were made available free. So strong was the demand for these scripts that others were added. Today the Script Exchange catalogue lists more than seven hundred separate scripts. These have been

secured from thirty-one educational organizations ranging from the Pittsburgh School Board to the University of Florida, from the Alameda School of the Air to the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Some measure of usefulness of this Exchange will be found in the fact that the number of scripts borrowed from the Script Exchange in four years totals more than a quarter million. In addition to the seven hundred scripts edited and catalogued for loan purposes, the Exchange has hundreds more in its files available for consultation or waiting to be edited and duplicated for the loan service. During the past year, more than twenty thousand performances on the air had been given by local educational radio groups using scripts from the Exchange.

It soon became apparent that interested school and college groups wanted guides on their production and organization problems. So the Office prepared a Production Manual, Glossary, Sound Effects Handbook, and Bibliography. Nearly fifty thousand copies of these supplementary aids have been distributed on request. The effect of the Exchange service may be seen in the fact that educational groups reporting productions on the air based on Exchange scripts rose from fewer than three hundred in 1936 to one thousand two hundred and fifty-seven in 1940, an increase of more than four hundred per cent in four years. We know that local station managers are eager to present local educational programs. We know also from correspondence that school officials often wish to accept these invitations. The Exchange helps both with their most difficult problem—securing tested scripts of high quality. If the Exchange can be continued, it promises to provide that sharing of effort in educational radio that networks and transcriptions provide in commercial radio.

3. *Should the United States Office of Education provide an Educational Transcription Exchange service?* This question, of course, is related to the previous question. If education can conserve and share its best products through a Script Exchange, should this same

process be extended to transcriptions? Many programs created by State university stations, such as the reading programs in Iowa and the art and music programs in Wisconsin, are sufficiently universal in their appeal to be used anywhere in the country. And yet this is not possible at the present time. The Office of Education, however, assisted by a revolving fund of \$10,000 from the Committee of Scientific Aids to Learning, has launched a transcription-exchange service by recording twenty-four half-hour programs of the "Americans All—Immigrants All" series, as presented by the Office with the cooperation of the Columbia Broadcasting System. The exchange also contains two recorded demonstrations of classroom utilization of radio, "This New World of Peace," a single half-hour program reviewing the struggle for Western Hemisphere unity, and six health recordings prepared in cooperation with the United States Public Health Service. There has been a lively demand for these transcriptions. This exchange service, however, will not move forward as rapidly as the Script Exchange unless more funds are available for the making of transcriptions.

4. *Should the United States Office of Education conduct research in education by radio?* Our correspondence yields numerous questions about education by radio for which there are no immediate answers. What is the influence of radio on children? What are the best methods of utilizing radio? What are the best methods of equipping schools to use radio? This Office and other organizations have made some progress in conducting research which will give reliable answers, but there remain many large unexplored questions.

In 1935 the Federal Communications Commission established the Federal Radio Education Committee with the Commissioner of Education as chairman. The purpose of this Committee is to promote cooperation between broadcasters and educators, and at its initial sessions the Committee identified a number of important education-by-radio problems requiring research. The Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, General Education Board, and

National Association of Broadcasters voted funds for the prosecution of these research projects. Some of the work has been carried on at Ohio State University, Princeton University, and Columbia University. Other projects have been undertaken directly by the United States Office of Education. Products of this research may be found in a number of publications, such as: *Forums on the Air*, *College Radio Workshops*, and *Local Cooperative Broadcasting*.

Of course, the funds made available by no means permitted the study of all the questions raised by the Federal Radio Education Committee, and there are other problems deserving of study which are not even on the committee's list. Whether the foundations and the National Association of Broadcasters will be able to continue the support of research in radio is, of course, a question. If this does not seem feasible, then we must face the issue of whether further gathering of vital facts in this important area of education should be the task of the United States Office of Education using funds voted for the purpose by Congress.

5. *Should the Office of Education help coordinate research of education by radio?* Many universities have assigned graduate students to studies in the field of education by radio. Often these studies are local, such as the Indiana University's study of listening habits. By encouraging parallel studies the Office of Education could help the Nation obtain comparative facts of great value. To coordinate research, of course, calls for staff members and conferences in the field, which again depends upon availability of funds.

6. *Should the United States Office of Education participate in cooperative national programs?* As chairman of the Federal Radio Education Committee and Commissioner of Education it has been clear to me that better cooperation between broadcasters and educators depended to a very large degree on educators' knowing more about the problem of creating listenable programs. Therefore, I suggested to President Roosevelt the allocation of funds from Emergency Relief appropriations to the Office of Education in order to

create a work relief project which would experiment and demonstrate in this field. The Educational Radio Project operated for four and one-half years, from January 1, 1936, to June 30, 1940. In that period it cooperated with the National Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System, and various governmental and non-governmental national agencies, such as the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Smithsonian Institution, National Education Association, United States Public Health Service, Social Security Board, and many others, presenting more than seven hundred coast-to-coast programs. In that period the Office of Education experimented with a variety of techniques. It also experimented with forms of organization for the purpose of securing programs educationally reliable as well as listenable. Many of its programs received high awards and high ratings in the various studies of listener habits. There is considerable evidence that the more successful techniques developed in these experimental and demonstration programs have been used or adapted by groups throughout the country. However, this activity was suspended June 30 due to Congressional enactment in the relief legislation of a general limitation against the use of WPA funds for radio broadcasting.

Involved in the issue of cooperative programs is the whole question of government's relations to and use of radio. The Federal Government makes wide use of print in serving the people; in fact, it maintains one of the largest printing plants in the world. It uses print for reports of legislative and administrative business. It uses print to report the results of research, and to give people guidance on many problems. But the Federal Government has not yet found a practical way to use radio on a scale comparable to its use of print. The "Farm and Home Hour," of course, represents a cooperative program of incalculable worth. Federal Housing Administration, Social Security Board, and a few other agencies have used radio to broaden knowledge of their respective programs. But when we look at the problem as a whole, it is apparent that Congress has

not yet decided how it wants administrative agencies to use radio. Nor have the administrative agencies thought through the problems of using this new medium of communication in the performance of public service. President Roosevelt has said "radio functions . . . are clearly a part of the educational activities of the government." The United States Office of Education is, of course, the educational arm of the United States Government. Does this mean that the Office of Education should be empowered to cooperate with other government agencies and radio agencies in the creation of cooperative educational programs? How can such cooperative programs be created which will meet the requirements of Congress, administrative agencies, networks, independent stations, and listeners? These are questions for the future. Certainly, if democracy is to succeed, we must have an increasingly rapid and effective exchange of views based on facts impartially assembled and used for educational purposes. We know that radio is a powerful medium available for such purposes. But how shall we harness this power for the public good? Here is one of the most compelling problems confronting American citizens.

7. *Should the Office supply advisory service to schools, colleges, civic associations, and local radio stations?* Many requests reach the Office asking for competent advice in development of local programs, public-address systems, transmitters, etc. These requests are increasing rapidly as school systems consider the possibility of establishing frequency modulation transmitters. Early in 1940 the Federal Communications Commission set aside one megacycle to be used exclusively for stations owned and operated by educational institutions. Engineers estimate it will be possible to establish as many as three thousand stations within this band. Naturally this creates many problems totally new to school officials. At present the Office of Education has no field service to give competent advice on the numerous problems of education by radio.

These are a few of the questions which deserve study by every one

interested in the future use of radio in the service of education. We are now at a crossroads in this movement. We must face the fact that the stimulation which has been given by foundation funds may come to an end, or may be so reduced that it will not be a vital factor. We must face the fact that there is no national group of practitioners or well-wishers prepared to speak for education by radio at the present time. We must face the fact that Congress has not fully explored the problem. And finally, we must face the fact that there is no national center, the Office of Education included, which is today adequately equipped to serve this developing movement. Here are issues demanding the best thought and vigorous action on the part of American citizens of all walks of life.

John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education since 1934, conducted, while Superintendent of Schools in Des Moines, Iowa, an adult-education forum that stimulated a national program. He has developed radio broadcasts, transcriptions, and accompanying syllabi as a part of the service of the Office of Education.

THE SCOPE OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES IN BROADCASTING

JAMES R. ANGELL

Precisionists and professional critics, in approaching such a subject as that suggested in the title of this paper, are apt to demand a definition of the term "education," for unless the reader is certain what the writer means by "education" the whole discussion is exposed to the danger of being needlessly vague and ambiguous. I refer all such to the Oxford Dictionary—or to any other good dictionary—in the full conviction that no one likely to peruse these lines really needs help at this point and with the further assurance that, as no experience in life is wholly devoid of educational consequences, my commentary is not likely to be seriously misapprehended. Education is one of those familiar general terms, like government, or religion, whose essential significance is known to practically every one, but which cannot be subjected to rigid definition without surrounding the idea with such a cloud of qualifying phrases as to obscure, rather than to clarify, the meaning.

Like all pioneering enterprises, radio has had to proceed by trial and error experimentation and this is peculiarly true of its efforts to enter the specifically educational field. Here it has not only had to contend with the natural reluctance of teachers—who are traditionally conservative—to adopt a new and untried technique, but also with that reluctance greatly augmented and sharpened by the common identification in the public mind of radio with jazz bands, variety shows, and raucous advertising blurbs.

Furthermore, for a number of fairly obvious reasons, when it finally occurred, the initial rush of American educational administrators to gain control of radio facilities in order to exploit broadcasting was born of innocent and ill-informed enthusiasm, too often colored by a desire to promote the interests of the particular institution which the individual represented. The rank and file of the

teaching force were slow to respond to the allurements of the new device and this was, and is still, conspicuously true in the ranks of higher education. Bitter experience soon taught how difficult a problem it was, both financially and administratively, to carry on day by day a satisfactory program schedule. Whereupon the executives began to retire from the field and to seek means whereby to turn over the job to the commercial broadcaster. This process is still going on, although stabilization is probably near at hand.

Two considerations should be brought to mind at this point: In the first place, as far as concerns formal education, we are wont to speak of the "American system," whereas if the phrase implies a universal general pattern, there is none such. We have public schools and private schools, endowed colleges and universities, and universities supported by States and municipalities. We have vocational and professional institutions of both kinds. We have progressive schools and conservative traditional schools. The variety is happily almost infinite. This circumstance is definitely reflected in the variant attitude of organized education toward radio.

In the second place, the conditions under which broadcasting is carried on in the United States are extremely various. Some of it is done by the thirty and more chains and networks, some of it is done by local commercial stations whose circumstances again vary widely, some of it is done by educational institutions—whether schools, colleges, or universities. These facts are also reflected in the practices of educational radio.

The distinction between the publicly supported and the privately supported institution in its attitude toward radio is illustrated by such a familiar case as the following. A western State university which has an agricultural department, to say nothing of other professional schools like engineering, forestry, pharmacy, dentistry, medicine, and law, may find that radio offers, especially to its extension department, invaluable opportunities to reach its supporting public throughout the State, and that no other means compares

with the directness of the service which can thus be rendered. It follows quite naturally that if such an institution has a radio station—and not a few do—broadcasts can be put on the air for the direct benefit of the citizen, particularly the farmer and the man living in the small town, giving him valuable information bearing on many of his daily problems, including the urgent domestic ones for which his wife may be chiefly responsible, and that, in addition to such service, there may be offered material prepared for direct use in schools as well as interesting musical and entertainment features which will agreeably fill in idle hours.

Clearly, the university on private foundation is not likely to feel the same obligation to furnish the general public in its neighborhood with radio service of so specific a character as does the State university of our illustration. Nevertheless, there are many institutions of this private character that have been interested to make some use of radio for public service, but in most instances this has been through the utilization of commercial broadcasting agencies. Such a situation is exhibited in the University of Chicago "Round Table" which has been on the air for a number of years over the facilities of the National Broadcasting Company.

In recent years there has been a good deal of interest displayed by our largest cities in securing their own broadcasting facilities which are thereupon used to broadcast directly into their own schools. At this writing much the larger part of school broadcasts, whatever their place of origin, are probably directed to the grade school and the lower high-school level in distinction from the senior high school. This circumstance reflects much more the relative rigidity of the curriculum and timetable in the upper school than any substantial difference in the value to the children of the radio programs offered for the different levels. In the nature of the case, for a variety of reasons, independent private secondary schools have for the most part been slow to utilize such broadcasting procedures.

Generally speaking, I think it may safely be said that, at whatever

level one looks into the matter, publicly supported institutions have made far wider use of radio than have those on the privately sustained basis.

By general agreement, both here and abroad, radio must seek to supplement the existing agencies of education, rather than to displace them. The manner in which, and the extent to which, this supplementing job can in fact be done varies widely and is contingent upon a variety of changing factors, so that as yet the whole effort is rudimentary, rather unstable, and certainly in a highly experimental stage. It is doubtful whether radio has any educational field that it can regard as exclusively its own, although it is certain that it possesses inherent powers which if skillfully used are second to none in the immediacy and depth of their effects.

Meantime, so far as concerns the classroom, the teacher must always decide whether the time given to listening to a radio program is better employed than it would have been in the normal routine of the school. Ordinarily, children enjoy the novelty of the radio in the classroom, and well-constructed and executed programs can be extremely stimulating and helpful; but they must be intelligently integrated with the regular work of the school and must be rigorously judged by their merits in comparison with other teaching methods.

A practical issue of serious consequence is involved in broadcasts offered schools and, while it is familiar to all radio folk, it may in passing be mentioned. I refer to the conflict with school timetables which a radio program necessarily encounters.

In forty-eight States there are innumerable variations in curricula and time schedules, and in addition to that fact there are four time-bands separated by an hour from one another between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Consequently it is impossible for any network broadcast at a given hour to be fitted into more than a fraction of the schools that might like to use it, and there are of course very large numbers of schools that have no receiving sets at all. Occasionally a

network has been able to arrange with its affiliated stations to re-broadcast a program at an hour agreeable to the schools in its neighborhood, but even under such conditions there will be many schools that cannot, or will not, make the adjustments necessary to receive it.

When local stations, in cooperation with teachers in the communities involved, build programs for school purposes, it is often possible to make schedules more or less satisfactory as to the hours employed, but here again there are repeatedly insoluble difficulties.

The only thoroughgoing solution for this group of problems is the transcription or recording. With good recordings and a convenient portable playback, the programs can be heard at any time and in any room in the school, can be repeated indefinitely, can be stopped at any point in a performance for question or comment, and can be heard by the teacher in advance of the class session. In other words, the recording is the most flexible, the most widely useful, and the most permanently available of all the solutions of the difficulty with school schedules which radio programs face.

At the school level, and to some extent at the college and university level, broadcasting is being conducted with two rather distinct aims in view, involving two quite distinct functions.

There are, first, the programs broadcasted from a studio or some other outside point, intended for actual use in the classroom or for listening at out-of-class hours, in both cases with an explicit view to supplementing the work of the teacher in the classroom; and there are, second, the broadcasts sent out *from* a school intended for general public consumption. These may involve the school band and orchestra, the school dramatic club, the glee club or choral society, the debating club, the literary club, or some comparable student organization. Such broadcasts have the double purpose of affording training for young people in the various arts related to the use of radio while giving the institution producing the program publicity of a kind which may be interesting and flattering to the community,

and especially to the parents of the children, exhibiting the kind of work which the school is supposed to be doing.

Quite apart from the problem of the educational institution, as such, in its relation to broadcasting, is the wide field of adult education, so called, whose boundaries it is impossible to designate with precision, but which represents a very wide area of public interest at the present time and one which radio regards itself as obligated to serve. Almost any program of serious purpose might be justly included in this group, to say nothing of many others which, although designed primarily for sheer entertainment, have in them qualities of a genuinely educational character, in that they stimulate thinking, provoke serious interest in worth-while subjects, and often afford some discipline in taste and emotional discernment. Many of them, for example, undertake to deal with a better understanding of the social and economic organization of our time, with the history of our country, with the great personalities in our literature and art. Side by side with such programs are the abundant news releases often accompanied by the comment of specialists trained in the analysis of the news. Such programs are put on without any primary interest in formal education, but they unquestionably achieve in many instances an enlargement of horizon and a better understanding of public questions.

Obviously also in this general group one might properly include programs presenting more serious forms of music, such as are offered by Toscanini, the great urban orchestras, and also the Metropolitan Opera. The general public naturally thinks of such programs as being in the entertainment field, as they are, but on the other hand they have certain cultural implications which cannot at all properly be excluded from the field of educational activities.

The comment just made leads naturally to the recognition of the fact that if one is attempting to classify programs from the educational point of view one must decide whether one is to be guided by

the motive in putting the program on the air, or by the consequences which may flow from it. At all events it is quite essential to recognize the distinction involved.

There are not a few commercial programs which have not been created with any absorbing interest in education as ordinarily conceived, but which, like the comparable sustaining programs already referred to, certainly have very definite educational values in the disseminating of information, the stimulation of thought, and the cultivation of taste—to mention only these items among others.

In addition to the issues touched on above, it is well to recognize the practical obstacles with which one is confronted in trying to broadcast material of educational significance in the various fields with which human intelligence concerns itself. These differences have to do in part with the abstract qualities of certain subjects; in part with the prerequisites in the matter of knowledge and understanding on the part of the listener; and in part with the availability of the ear unaided by the eye to apprehend certain kinds of relationship. With the coming of television some of these difficulties should be easily resolved, and even now, where the motion picture can be brought into conjunction with the radio, the field of successful programming is instantly extended.

Clearly it is very difficult to utilize the radio alone to convey significant material in the field of mathematics. This difficulty grows rapidly as one moves out of the area of elementary arithmetic into the higher branches of mathematics. To be even intelligible to the average listener, let alone entertaining enough to hold his attention, programs trying to enter this field have to be devised with extraordinary ingenuity and, even so, can hardly get beyond a very simple level.

The same thing is measurably true of the exact physical sciences and even with biology in its more precise aspects. Certain elementary matters capable of vivid descriptive treatment, particularly if they lend themselves to any dramatic handling, may be made both

informing and exciting. But it requires unusual skill to do it and one presently comes to the limits of success by reason of the lack of knowledge on the part of the listener of facts essential to a real understanding of what is being conveyed.

On the other hand, as has already been intimated, in history and the social sciences there is almost no limit to what can be accomplished by skillful writing and production. Great personalities can be made to live again, great historical episodes can be made vivid and unforgettable, and a genuine development in intellectual apprehension may be obtained by such means. The rather remarkable assistance such programs may give to the vitalizing of history, geography, economics, government, and international relations is really amazing.

Similarly, there are no bounds as yet encountered to the genuine educational effects which are possible in the field of literature—and especially perhaps the drama. Outstanding successes have been so repeatedly scored here that it is quite unnecessary to elaborate upon them.

Even with foreign languages not a little has been done, not only in the elementary teaching of the spoken use of the language, but especially in the training of the ear to follow unfamiliar voices and the intricacies of connected discourse. In the field of health, both physical and mental, and in that of bodily development radio must obviously work largely by indirection—stimulating interest, conveying a certain amount of information, suggesting methods, and making clear possible results.

In the area which many persons consider the most critical portion of education, to wit, discipline in the ability to think independently and soundly, the resources of radio have done hardly more than scratch the surface and at that in very limited, though very important, fields. There are at this point, and especially in view of the approach of television, wide ranges of unexplored territory in which unexpected treasures may be found. But in the area of feeling

and emotion, in the stimulation of imagination and in the influence upon taste, radio has tremendous potentialities—potentialities which used wisely and with intelligent devotion to the public weal may exercise a most pervasive and valuable influence, but which used ignorantly and with no regard to possible consequences may vulgarize, debase, and gravely damage the moral and aesthetic sensibilities of innumerable listeners.

It is unnecessary to expand the list of definitely educational subjects with which radio may deal. The substance of the matter is that there are real and thus far obstinate differences in the ease with which radio enters various of these areas of human interest, and such differences have to be accepted as constituting, for the present at least, limitations that must be frankly recognized, although ingenuity may at any time overcome them.

Similarly, there is a great range of techniques which require to be explored far more thoroughly than as yet it has been possible to do in the effective presentation of various of the subjects previously mentioned.

At the outset of the development of this whole matter the strong disposition was to resort to exposition by a single voice—something comparable to the lecture, if you please. Presently this was elaborated into the dialogue and the exchange of question and answer after the manner of an informal classroom discussion. Then the so-called "round table" and the panel discussion and the quiz began to gain in popularity and the various forms of forums came quickly into action. More recently there has been a stampede into the use of dramatic techniques and unquestionably for many purposes this is the most effective procedure for gaining and retaining a large listening audience. On the other hand, for many purposes it is essentially unfitted and, if employed, conveys an artificial and disturbing impression.

This does not seem to me the place at which to attempt a detailed discussion of the relative merits of these and other techniques as

applied to the purposes now in hand, but I feel quite certain that as time goes on there will be a much clearer recognition than at present of the inappropriateness of certain types of technique for certain types of programs.

With the coming of a general use of television, which I look forward to in the very near future, I believe that the entire situation is likely to be altered and that we may well have to begin a new process of exploration in order to determine the most effective means of securing the particular results that we desire to obtain. Experience with the motion picture will have taught us something about this, so that we shall not have to start quite from scratch as we did with the radio. But there are reasons to believe that the television technique applied to educational purposes can by no means be lifted direct from the technique in the use of motion pictures. Even if the motion-picture technique were far more perfect than it is, I suspect that differences will be encountered which will make the television procedure in many respects materially different from that of the motion picture.

One unavoidable dilemma is faced by broadcasters who seek to do anything which can reasonably be called educational. Individuals vary indefinitely in capacity, ideals, and desires. If the effort to educate in any phase of human experience is to be as successful as it should, due regard must be had by teachers—and especially at the lower end of the academic scale—to these individual differences and peculiarities. Not a little of the most important development in modern teaching has to do with methods for getting thus directly in touch with the individual student. Radio has to be relatively oblivious to many of these differences, addressing its efforts to the average mass. Even in this effort to serve the mass, determination must be made of the *level* of the inchoate aggregate population at which any given program shall be directed. Consequently, broadcasts intended to produce educational consequences of any kind have to be adjusted to some assumed "average group," whether this

be a group of school children or a listening group of adults, with the resulting certainty that many listeners will not fall within such a group. Commercial radio is inevitably highly sensitive to this circumstance, for, other things being equal, it naturally wishes to have the largest possible hearing for all its programs.

In conclusion, it must be said in all frankness that under a commercially supported broadcasting system there will always be pressure on the creators and producers of programs consciously seeking some educational effects upon listeners, however modest the effort, to scale the material down to a fairly low average level, to sweeten it in every possible way, so that the consumer may be pleasantly titillated and entertained, if possible be adroitly and not too obviously flattered, and in any case be rendered anesthetic to the fact that he is "being done good." There is widely prevalent in professional broadcasting circles a cold horror at the use of the word "education," and an impatient distrust of programs likely to be tarred with that brush. Moreover, sustaining programs in this field (and most programs of the kind are now sustaining) are inevitably subject to rough handling in the matter of time and station coverage. A large portion of the best broadcasting hours are naturally sold to sponsors, and if a valuable account comes along and desires a period occupied by an educational sustaining program, it is a fairly safe bet that the latter will be moved or suppressed. Under such circumstances it is difficult to build and hold an audience, without which the whole effort is futile.

Nevertheless, in the face of all these difficulties there can be little doubt that broadcasters have steadily advanced in their recognition of the obligation to give good public service throughout this field and that they are steadily improving in the skill with which, with the helpful coöperation of teachers and others concerned in the promotion of social, philanthropic, and cultural interests, they are learning to produce programs of absorbing interest and value. Stations under the control of educational institutions are also con-

usually improving their service to the constituencies they seek to reach. All forms of broadcasting are being greatly assisted by the many intelligent studies which are being made of the habits and preferences of listeners and of the actual effects of the programs which have been on the air

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CAN RADIO EDUCATE?

G. A. SIEPMANN

Radio is dynamite. That is a word with a Greek derivation and an alarming connotation. The Greek word means *power*, and it is the explosive power, the dynamite of radio, that has at once stirred such extravagant hopes and bred such caution over its use. To date the dynamiter's record isn't wholly creditable. There has been some wholesale destruction (more of it, even here in America, than we realize) but to what end? The record, however, is worth examining because we may learn something from it of the dynamiter's art. We may yet learn to produce explosions that will dispose of obstacles in the way of social progress. The day may come when radio ceases to exploit and, instead, caters to the ignorance, the anxieties, and fears and hopes of ordinary people.

So far we have witnessed two major explosions—a few minor ones (like the Orson Welles's panic over the Men from Mars) and for the rest a long and monotonous trail of damp squibs. The first explosion went off without any one's deliberate intention—the advent of radio itself, when time-space notions of centuries of habitual thought were sent skyrocketing. The reverberations of that explosion now echo somewhat faintly in our ears. We tend to overlook the implications of a fact daily accepted because daily experienced. The clock hands on the twenty-three-foot face of Big Ben may point to 1.00 a.m. in London while New York chimes ring out at 8.00 p.m., and factory whistles shriek "Cease labor" for workers in Los Angeles. But for the world of radio, for listeners, clock differences mean nothing. For them—and for us who ponder about radio and education—the essential fact is that at one and the same time the voice of Edward Murrow speaks from a London basement (while bombs rain overhead and millions cower in shelters) and is heard in the living rooms of homes throughout America. The factor of significance is not *time* but the sharing by millions of a common experience of

being all but physically present at events as they occur the world over. Something has happened here of which educators should take note. We are not alone. A process of integration has begun. In experience, at any rate, we are becoming world citizens. The main street of today is the vast thoroughfare of life across the entire globe.

The second major explosion came relatively late, but with that precision and effectiveness of modern scientific method in which we take such disproportionate pride. Three centuries ago Guy Fawkes tried to right a wrong by stacking dynamite into the vaults of the British House of Commons. His fuse was never fired. But the Guy Fawkes of our day knew better. His dynamite was laid not under bricks and mortar, but under the minds and at the hearts of people. His fuse *was* fired, and in the wreckage of the hearts and minds of Germans we witness today the consequences of that precise, deliberate explosion.

Educators again take note "Mental confusion, contradiction of feeling, indecision, panic—these are our weapons." Thus Hitler. A misstatement, in fact, like others from the same source. *Not* weapons, but the fragile, precarious fabric of human ignorance and gullibility which dynamite can work upon.

Thus far, then, two facts. Radio transcends the experience of men and women limited hitherto by their immediate geographical environment. It offers, all but forces on us, new and wider horizons of knowledge or, perhaps I should say, of information. And, second, radio can and does work upon men's weaknesses, their ignorance, their fears by concentrated power of suggestion, by endless repetition, by subtle innuendo. Hitler's manipulation of the radio is based on a supreme contempt for ordinary people. He knows their weaknesses and plays upon, exploits them. Radio can do these things. They can be done for political purposes as in Germany. They can be done for profit as it is done for hours a day here in America. The upshot is similar—a degradation of the individual by denial of that respect for his potentialities, that faith in his power to respond to

fine as well as to cheap appeals by which democracy itself alone is justified.

Without that faith, without respect for persons, radio cannot educate. That is the first conditional. There are others. Radio *can* educate:

1. If we can define education in terms appropriate to the audience catered to by radio.

2. If we recognize the limitations of the medium and avail ourselves for social ends of its unique resources of technique and of appeal.

3. If we, as educators, stop barking up the wrong tree and rid ourselves of cultural preconceptions about what education means deriving from our own privileged experience of its influence.

4. If the radio industry will think a little less of quick returns of profit and more of the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" which it is charged to serve, if radio will stop hitting the public below the belt by exploitation of its weaknesses.

5. If educators and the industry get together and organize the machinery of education on a scale commensurate with the range and power and resources of the medium for purposes that will command the respect and admiration of all right-thinking people.

Now let's review these five conditionals.

Radio can educate if we define education in terms appropriate to radio's audience. What is this audience? On occasions it is the nation. By and large from day to day it is an audience of millions drawn predominantly from listeners in the lower income groups

An audience of millions, but every one an individual and yet as individuals they stand conditioned by characteristics which they share in common and which have profound effects on their outlook, their interests, and their capacities. Three main characteristics of this group are dominant. They are poor, they are ill-educated, and they are lonely. Seventeen per cent of the population of America is on relief. More than half the families earn incomes of less than

\$30.00 a week. These figures accumulate in bluebooks but too rarely find their way to people's heads and hearts. For educators they should stand as living symbols of certain realities of human experience. Radio listeners are uneducated. Thirty-four million adults in America have never enjoyed education beyond the fifth grade. That is a grave disability and a fact most relevant to the purposes of education. That they are, as a consequence, woefully suggestible is proved by the success of advertising and by the extent of the panic over the Orson Welles incident. Their immediate needs and preoccupations are material, and, like the rest of us, they are subject to strains peculiar to our time. A great deal more is asked of the people these days than has been asked of them in all history. The breakdown of the space-time conception, already referred to as it applies to radio, has equal application to the conditions governing these people's lives. They are caught up in a world of circumstance over which they feel that they have no control. Government, in the guise of relief, food stamps, the WPA, etc., impinges increasingly upon their lives, and at the same time is something remote, impersonal. These agencies of government, through failure of adequate interpretation, create not a sense of belonging, but of dependence.

The accent of men's preoccupation is on *now*. Social investigation constantly divulges more evidence of the bewilderment, the anxieties, the sense of insecurity of people, of the increasing extent to which we are collectively involved and individually more isolated through ignorance of facts and conditions of which, as citizens, we have a right to know. Radio is saddled with the task of educating a public that has had little or no education on public issues, on the facts of poverty, of malnutrition, of industrial maladjustment, and the rest. In it we have at last an instrument extensive enough in its range to make possible some attempt at such education. It has peculiar resources and definite limitations. The second conditional is that we recognize both and do what we can with what we have.

The limitations of the radio from the educators' point of view are

obvious. Radio cannot teach. The disciplines and the perceptions, which come from personal contact with a teacher, from the compulsory element in formal education of class attendance and the rest, all these lie outside the scope of radio. Education by radio is voluntary education. Success depends on our power to elicit interest and hold attention. Radio in fact has means of doing so. Techniques have been devised and have brought money to advertisers and pleasure to vast audiences. The fact that they have been exploited largely for purposes of entertainment is no good reason for ignoring or for despising them. Radio is subject to a hard and an admirable discipline. It is forced to take account of people as they are. Responsibility for its comparative failure in education is divided between educators and those who control broadcasting. I shall deal with the failure of the former when I come to discuss the third conditional of successful radio education.

The failure of the latter, in a word, is the failure of cynicism, of a cheap, and irreverent appraisal of what people are, taking account only of a few pathetic facets of human nature inherent in the circumstances of poverty and limited opportunity for self-development. Radio has failed to recognize that we are, every one of us, capable of continuing growth. It is not what we are that matters; that has to be endured, a heavy burden of imperfection that each of us carries to the grave. What counts is what we may yet be. Radio can educate, if it discards cynicism of the sort that Hitler with his contempt for people has carried to its logical conclusion and takes account of aspirations, hopes, and virtues, which are latent in every one and awaiting only the stimulus of leadership and direction to evoke response. Given a purposeful appreciation of the fundamental decency in people, radio techniques are ready to our hand, not to achieve the millennium, but to alleviate our lot and maybe to help stave off the disaster immanent in our maladjusted state. Radio can create hope. It can recreate a sense of belonging, a great folklore of common interests and shared experience, a sense of participation in

the movements of our time, which the objective forces of centralized control are tending to eradicate. This is no place for a catalogue of radio's resources of technique, but a few may be cited as examples.

Radio can exploit the contagion of personality. The loneliness and tawdriness of people's lives are evidenced by fan mail. People are eager to escape from their limited environment. They are pathetically responsive to the glamour of persons and of a world so different from their own as to acquire the attributes of magic. But personal appeal is not limited to film stars, crooners, and comedians. The contagion of sincerity, of deep conviction, of judgment, and experience also claim a following, small as it may be by comparison with that of the top-flight glamour boys. People are also responsive to their own kith and kin, to men and women circumstanced as they are. It is the particular glory of radio that it can dispense, in communication, with any prerequisites of a fine literary style. The communication of experience by the man in the street has been relatively neglected in America as a means of integrating social experience. In England it has been exploited on occasion with astonishing success and with far-reaching social effects. When for twelve consecutive weeks listeners to the British radio heard unemployed men and women describing their condition, the money they had to spend on clothes and food for the children, the effect of unemployment on their personal relations, the use of their enforced leisure, something more than sympathy and understanding resulted. There was created a common conscience about a problem with which the public at large came to feel itself associated. Here in an isolated instance was the beginning of a kind of social integration, which it should be the pride of radio to foster and develop.

Another obvious technique of radio is dramatization. Radio drama is perhaps unrivaled in the intensity of its popular appeal. The fact that the listener's imagination is the stage of radio drama identifies him with the action to almost a frightening extent. Listeners to daytime serials have frequently come to believe in the lit-

eral existence of the characters participating in the drama. If we have values to communicate, conflicts of moment and significance to the development of understanding and of a richer personality, here is the vehicle for such ideas and values. The fact that this vehicle at present carries little of genuine distinction and a heavy load of trash, particularly in the daytime, is quite beside the point. We have a technique, wide in its appeal and powerful to convey refinements of attitude and feeling. A great variety of similar techniques, like that of the quiz program, are ready to our hand. Why is it that so little use has been made of them for purposes that have educational significance?

The fault, I think, rests, as I have said, in part with the educators. We keep barking up the wrong tree. What we have failed to realize is that there exists today a new urgency for the wholesale dissemination of education. "Money is like muck, not good but it be spread." So with education. Radio disposes of our inability to spread education and offers us techniques peculiarly well suited to the kind of education that is wanted. We have been slow to appreciate the fact, slow to dispense with our own preconceptions of what education is. We, as educators, suffer from the limitations of our own experience. Our background of education is that of a formal discipline extending over years, deriving from the teacher, or rather a succession of teachers, and from study, and directed toward the realization of a culture remote from that which can as yet be realized for the masses. We are the products of a selective process, aimed at the development of skills of an intellectual order and associated with cultural notions of taste and of discrimination, the refinement and the good manners bred of the arts and of philosophy. We suffer, in fact, from a kind of intellectual inbreeding that tends to remove us both socially and in terms of experience from the hard facts and circumstances of suffering and strain of ordinary people. The fruits of such education stand unassailable in their own right. But having regard

to the urgency of our time and the circumstance and background of the majority of our fellows, they are, for radio, largely irrelevant.

It is for this reason among others that I believe we tend to shirk the adoption of techniques of interpretation which offend our taste and have for us little intellectual appeal. To have read the poets, to have studied art, to have a comprehensive understanding of history, to have shared the thoughts and speculations of the great philosophers is indeed a privilege, an unforgettable experience. But what highbrows tend to overlook is that in respect of fundamental values, in respect of fellowship, of honesty, the decencies of behavior, and the normal sympathies which make life worth living, there are other and cruder disciplines which approximate a similar achievement. If, without such a background of education, the good life is not possible, then indeed the condition of the world is parlous in the extreme. But that does not happen to be true. Poverty is not a bar to decency, nor is lack of formal education a fatal obstacle to the appreciation of what citizenship and the practice of Christian virtues mean. Values derive from the heart and not from the head. It is at the heart of the people and not at their heads that popular education should aim.

Radio then eschews, and rightly because it cannot emulate them, the techniques and the discipline of formal education. Instead it challenges those who have had such formal education to recognize that similar ends may be achieved by different means. Radio can do two things and two alone. It can make us more aware of the world we live in, in terms of the stark facts of which we should be cognizant, of events as they occur, and of the circumstance of people as it is. Radio can also appeal to the emotions, strengthen and purge the common heritage of values and loyalties which bind us together as a people and make for hope in living. The techniques are there. The public is there. What is still missing is the will, the determination to associate with these techniques the values and the purposes which

we have, or should have, in common. Who can best voice these purposes? Who can express for us in terms that strengthen purpose and quicken imagination the things we have in common? Obviously the artist, the poet, the writer, the men and women gifted with creative imagination. It is a bad business when art and artists become esoteric. Art which fails to communicate itself is sterile. The poets and the dramatists of ancient Greece were appraised and acclaimed by the people of Athens. Shakespeare, in his day, wrote not for his friends but for the rough and rowdy audience that crowded into the Globe Theatre. What we want now is similar service to the people, a form of artistic expression that has not lost the common touch. It is nothing short of tragic that radio with one or two rare exceptions has neither sought nor won the service and interest of writers of quality, that a new medium of interpretation fails by and large through the absence of interpreters. What is the occasion of this dearth? It is, as I see it, the failure of the industry itself to realize in a creative sense the great potentialities of the techniques of radio. It is a failure of vision and of purpose. Without such vision and purpose radio cannot educate. This brings me to the fourth conditional.

The blame, as I said, for the failure of radio in education is divided. The fault of the industry is its betrayal of a sacred trust. It would be absurd to suggest that the industry has defaulted all along the line. It has at least two great achievements to its credit. In no country in the world has radio rendered more splendid service in offering entertainment—which God knows we need—and in bringing home to people through bulletins and commentaries the changing kaleidoscope of national and international developments. It has failed lamentably to date in creating for us a living and arresting picture of America as it exists in social and economic terms. It has failed in leadership and in patient, consistent direction of attention to things that matter most. In the whole of American radio, outside of its news services, there is not to be found any continuum of con-

structive social purpose. Failure is often excused on the score that choice and decision in such matters is authoritarian and not part of the responsibility of broadcasters. But the excuse is disingenuous. Every broadcaster knows that day by day he makes such choice, takes such decisions, determines what the listener shall hear. The illusion that American programs are the peoples' choice has been so far publicized that many have become victims of a vast conspiracy of ballyhoo.

Democracy without leadership is senseless. In politics we elect our representatives and entrust to them the framing and execution of policy in the public interest. Radio like politics is a great public trust. We do not happen to elect our radio representatives, but let that pass. We do entrust to them the direction of programs in the public interest. It is a peculiarly sacred trust, and I use the word advisedly because to the men of radio are committed the potentialities of growth and of enriched experience of people helpless to voice their own needs or even to realize, without the help and inspiration of leadership, what they have in them to become as thinking and feeling people. Radio can educate if broadcasters concern themselves with education. As educators, we have nothing to teach them about technique. They have much still to learn, but we shall do well to leave the learning to the men who ply the trade. We have almost everything to teach them about purpose and about standards, about decencies of behavior which in radio are at present too often conspicuous by their absence. We should look askance at a private individual who plied a dipsomaniac with drink, or who fed a dope fiend with dope, and enriched himself in the process. Something not wholly dissimilar happens every day over the radio when the weaknesses and the morbid interests of helpless people are scientifically exploited for profit. What radio offers with one hand, it withdraws with the other. Its standards are confused and contradictory. It pays lip service to education, attempting it here and there, while for the

rest it undermines and debauches the very susceptibilities which education seeks to foster. You cannot at once elevate and debauch taste, discrimination, judgment. A house divided against itself cannot stand

We come finally to the fifth conditional, by reference to which alone any confident answer can be given to the question, "Can Radio Educate?" Radio can educate if the world of radio, of art, and of education get together and organize the machinery of education on a scale commensurate with the range, the power, and the resources of the medium for purposes that can command the respect and admiration of right-thinking people. Of the techniques of radio I have said something. Add to the list the resources of plugging and of promotion associated with commercial broadcasting, transfer these same techniques to the programs, the purpose of which is educational, and similar results will follow. The slender service rendered to education by radio tends to be discounted further through failure to publicize it, to create among listeners anticipation of interest. What is needed is coöperation, wider publicity, and the association of what radio offers with interests and activities among the listening public. What is needed is a frame of reference which relates what radio offers to the social context of the ordinary listener. It is a gigantic task and no piecemeal endeavor can achieve it. We are either serious or irresponsible. The times are serious. Our social circumstance is serious. Hitler's assessment of the man in the street as crude material that can be molded by exploitation of ignorance and fear is very near the mark. In his contempt for persons Hitler is wide of the mark. He is wrong both actually and morally. But it is time that we in America recognize the reality and the appalling danger of a state of ignorance and emotional instability such as in fact exists. It is time that we exemplified the belief in the integrity of persons, manifest in the tenets of democracy, by mustering the resources of a new and immensely powerful agency of mass

communication for constructive social ends realized by means appropriate to the people whom we serve and to the pressure of our circumstance

C A Siepmann, educated at Oxford, joined the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1927, helped organize first radio discussion groups, was successively head of the adult-education department, director of talks, and director of program planning. At present he is at Harvard University to advise the president on developments in radio at Harvard. He is also pursuing independent research on the educational and sociological implications of broadcasting.

INVITATION TO THE PAIN OF LEARNING

MORTIMER J. ADLER

One of the reasons why the education given by our schools is so frothy and vapid is that the American people generally—the parent even more than the teacher—wish childhood to be unspoiled by pain. Childhood must be a period of delight, of gay indulgence in impulses. It must be given every avenue for unimpeded expression, which of course is pleasant; and it must not be made to suffer the impositions of discipline or the exactions of duty, which of course are painful. Childhood must be filled with as much play and as little work as possible. What cannot be accomplished educationally through elaborate schemes devised to make learning an exciting game must, of necessity, be forgone. Heaven forbid that learning should ever take on the character of a serious occupation—just as serious as earning money, and, perhaps, much more laborious and painful. As Frances McFadden has recently pointed out, in an excellent article in *Harper's Bazaar*, a major American failing is "our refusal to grow up." As a result, the period of childhood has been extended well past puberty. Adolescence cannot be saved from the pains of puppy love, but even adolescents can be protected from mental growing pains.

The kindergarten spirit of playing at education pervades our colleges. Most college boys get their first taste of studying as really hard work, requiring mental strain and continual labor, only when they enter law school or medical school. Those who do not enter the professions find out what working at anything really means only when they start to earn a living—that is, if four years of college has not softened them to the point which makes them unemployable. But even those who somehow recover from a college loaf and accept the responsibilities and obligations involved in earning a living—even those who may gradually come to realize the connection between work, pain, and earning—seldom if ever make a similar connection

of pain and work with learning "Learning" is what they did in college, and they know that that had very little to do with pain and work

Now the attitude of the various agencies of adult education is even more soft-minded—not just soft-hearted—about the large public they face, a public which has had all sorts and amounts of schooling. The trouble is not simply that this large public has been spoiled by whatever schooling it has had—spoiled in the double sense that it is unprepared to carry on its own self-education in adult life and that it is disinclined to suffer pains for the sake of learning. The trouble also lies in the fact that agencies of adult education baby the public even more than the schools coddle the children. They have turned the whole nation—so far as education is concerned—into a kindergarten. It must all be fun. It must all be entertaining. Adult learning must be made as effortless as possible—painless, devoid of oppressive burdens and of irksome tasks. Adult men and women, because they are adult, can be expected to suffer pains of all sorts in the course of their daily occupations, whether domestic or commercial. We do not try to deny the fact that taking care of a household or holding down a job is necessarily burdensome, but we somehow still believe that the goods to be obtained, the worldly goods of wealth and comfort, are worth the effort. In any case, we know they cannot be obtained without effort. But we try to shut our eyes to the fact that improving one's mind or enlarging one's spirit is, if anything, more difficult than solving the problems of subsistence; or, maybe, we just do not believe that knowledge and wisdom are worth the effort.

We try to make adult education as exciting as a football game, as relaxing as a motion picture, and as easy on the mind as a radio quiz program. Otherwise, we will not be able to draw the big crowds, and the important thing is to draw large numbers of people into this educational game, even if after we get them there we leave them untransformed. And of all the agencies of adult education now at work, the radio, because it is most slavishly governed by the prin-

ciple that the crowd must be numbered in the millions, is the worst offender in this matter of confusing education and entertainment. The very few good educational programs, in which the leading networks take greatest pride, are engaged in a process of surreptitious teaching. It is hoped that a little information or stimulation may slip by under a barrage of laughs, or be absorbed unnoticed during the excitement of following a forum made as pugilistic as possible. There are some genuine teachers now on the air—I am thinking of Professors Van Doren and Tate—but even their invitation to learning must be vulgarized by a Cairns so that the public can have fun in hearing itself represented in the councils of the learned. Apart from this program, and several others which also somehow manage to slip a little learning into the heavily coated capsule, the rest of radio's educational offering is kindergarten stuff. The radio is not much worse, of course, than most of what goes by the name of adult education. And not much better can be expected so long as we treat our college students as if they, too, should be allowed to spend their days playing with colored papers.

What lies behind my remarks is a distinction between two views of education. In one view, education is something externally added to a person, as his clothing and other accoutrements. We cajole him into standing there willingly while we fit him; and in doing this we must be guided by his likes and dislikes, by his own notion of what enhances his appearance. In the other view, education is an interior transformation of a person's mind and character. He is plastic material to be improved not according to his inclinations, but according to what is good for him. But because he is a living thing, and not dead clay, the transformation can be effected only through his own activity. Teachers of every sort can help, but they can only help in the process of learning that must be dominated at every moment by the activity of the learner. And the fundamental activity that is involved in every kind of genuine learning is intellectual activity, the activity generally known as thinking. Any learning which takes

place without thinking is necessarily of the sort I have called external and additive—learning passively acquired, for which the common name is “information.” Without thinking, the kind of learning which transforms a mind, gives it new insights, enlightens it, deepens understanding, elevates the spirit simply cannot occur.

Any one who has done any thinking, even a little bit, knows that it is painful. It is hard work—in fact the very hardest that human beings are ever called upon to do. It is fatiguing, not refreshing. If allowed to follow the path of least resistance, no one would ever think. To make boys and girls, or men and women, think—and through thinking really undergo the transformation of learning—educational agencies of every sort must work against the grain, not with it. Far from trying to make the whole process painless from beginning to end, we must promise them the pleasure of achievement as a reward to be reached only through travail. I am not here concerned with the oratory that may have to be employed to persuade Americans that wisdom is a greater good than wealth, and hence worthy of greater effort. I am only insisting that there is no royal road, and that our present educational policies, in adult education especially, are fraudulent. We are pretending to give them something which is described in the advertising as very valuable, but which we promise they can get at almost no expense to them.

Not only must we honestly announce that pain and work are the irremovable and irreducible accompaniments of genuine learning, not only must we leave entertainment to the entertainers and make education a task and not a game, but we must have no fears about what is “over the public’s head.” Whoever passes by what is over his head condemns his head to its present low altitude; for nothing can elevate a mind except what is over its head, and that elevation is not accomplished by capillary attraction, but only by the hard work of climbing up the ropes, with sore hands and aching muscles. The school system which caters to the median child, or worse, to the lower half of the class; the lecturer before adults—and they are

legion—who talks down to his audience; the radio program which tries to hit the lowest common denominator of popular receptivity—all these defeat the prime purpose of education by taking people as they are and leaving them just there.

The best adult-education program that has ever existed in this country was one which endured for a short time under the auspices of the People's Institute in New York, when Everett Dean Martin was its director, and Scott Buchanan his assistant. It had two parts. one consisted of lectures which, so far as possible, were always aimed over the heads of the audience, the other consisted of seminars in which adults were helped in the reading of great books—the books that are over every one's head. The latter part of the program is still being carried on by the staff of St. John's College in the cities near Annapolis; and we are conducting four such groups in the downtown college of the University of Chicago. I say that this is the only adult education that is genuinely educative simply because it is the only kind that requires activity, makes no pretense about avoiding pain and work, and is always working with materials well over everybody's head.

I do not know whether radio will ever be able to do anything genuinely educative. I am sure it serves the public in two ways: by giving them amusement and by giving them information. It may even, as in the case of its very best "educational" programs, stimulate some persons to do something about their minds by pursuing knowledge and wisdom in the only way possible—the hard way. But what I do not know is whether it can ever do what the best teachers have always done and must now be doing, namely, to present programs which are genuinely educative, as opposed to merely stimulating, in the sense that following them requires the listener to be active not passive, to think rather than remember, and to suffer all the pains of lifting himself up by his own bootstraps. Certainly so long as the so-called educational directors of our leading networks continue to operate on their present false principles, we can expect nothing. So

long as they confuse education and entertainment, so long as they suppose that learning can be accomplished without pain, so long as they persist in bringing everything and everybody down to the lowest level on which the largest audience can be reached, the educational programs offered on the air will remain what they are today—shams and delusions

It may be, of course, that the radio, for economic reasons must, like the motion picture, reach with certainty so large an audience that the networks cannot afford even to experiment with programs which make no pretense to be more palatable and pleasurable than real education can be. It may be that the radio cannot be expected to take a sounder view of education and to undertake more substantial programs than now prevail among the country's official leaders in education—the heads of our school system, of our colleges, of our adult-education associations. But, in either case, let us not fool ourselves about what we are doing. "Education" all wrapped up in attractive tissue is the gold brick that is being sold in America today on every street corner. Every one is selling it, every one is buying it, but no one is giving or getting the real thing because the real thing is always hard to give or get. Yet the real thing can be made generally available if the obstacles to its distribution are honestly recognized. Unless we acknowledge that every invitation to learning can promise pleasure only as the result of pain, can offer achievement only at the expense of work, all of our invitations to learning, in school and out, whether by books, lectures, or radio programs will be as much buncombe as the worst patent-medicine advertising, or the campaign pledge to put two chickens in every pot.

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CAN WE PUT SCIENCE ON THE AIR?

LYMAN BRYSON

At regular intervals the various scientific societies pass resolutions and appoint committees to do something about the problem of popularizing science. Such action is often accompanied by speeches on the ineffable badness of all scientific articles and books written for the layman, especially those that a layman could possibly read.

Any one who has attempted to write or publish material designed to enlighten the lay public on scientific matters knows the cycle of experience through which he is likely to go. In the beginning (first phase) the professors and the savants give him their blessing and tell him that they will do everything they can to help. Then when they see the first version of the manuscript (second phase) they understand for the first time that the writer really meant what he said, he intended to put scientific ideas into everyday phrases. At this, the men of learning are likely to be alarmed and say (third phase) that the whole project is futile because the preciseness of science cannot be put into common language. This statement is always obviously true but the writer of popular works on scientific subjects is never pretending to convey to ordinary readers the depth and precision of understanding which the scientist himself has of his chosen subject. He is only trying to move the layman a few steps along the road from ignorance toward knowledge. If he is honest he does not claim to do more than this and leaves the reader anxious to learn more. He tries to make his readers sympathetic to scientific purposes and ideals.

The author of the popular work completes his task in spite of discouragement. It is then reviewed in most scientific journals (fourth phase) with complete disregard of its purpose and its pretention and is dismissed offhand usually because of any success it might have in appealing to the nonscientific reader.

Doubtless this sounds like a crabbed and unjust attack upon the

scientists and scholars. As a matter of truth, I have more admiration for learned men than most people have and my criticism is based upon my disappointment because they draw back from doing things that would be so obviously for their own good. Science and scholarship need public support. In the future, if current changes in the financial structure of this country continue, they may be largely dependent on tax funds. If the ordinary voting citizen of the future does not understand what science and scholarship are attempting to do, the opportunities of science to accomplish anything at all may be sharply reduced. The fact that this would be a great public calamity would not keep it from happening.

Why not then use the radio as an instrument for public enlightenment? The first answer is, of course, that much has already been accomplished. Through the labors of industrious and gifted popularizers, of whom Watson Davis is a good example, a great deal of science has been put on the air. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that a great many "scientists" have been put on the air, since the interview is a convenient vehicle for describing the scientist's results. Some of the museum tours are also good examples. It is enlightening to parents as well as to children to listen in when Roy Chapman Andrews is conducting a visit to the American Museum of Natural History or when a skillful reporter is talking about the exhibits of the Smithsonian.

The second answer must be, however, that not nearly as much has been done in this area as in others, such as discussion or music.

It is quite evident that music is natural program material for the radio. The broadcaster can give the listener nothing but an audible pattern. This is a fact so obvious that it is frequently overlooked by amateur broadcasters and sometimes even by professionals. Music heard in the concert hall or at home, with the performer in sight, is something more than merely an audible pattern. John Erskine has pointed out that even the very critical concertgoer often watches the players either to rest his hearing from the severe effort of listening

or merely to enliven a dull passage in the score. When you are listening to the radio you can, of course, divert yourself if you want to but the broadcaster is not supplying anything for you to look at and has no control whatever over any stimulus you receive except the audible one. This psychological relationship which has not been much studied deserves to be discussed at considerable length as soon as the psychologists can find out what really goes on. It is mentioned here only to support the statement that music is natural program material for the radio. That fact is important in this discussion because almost nothing that can be called scientific information can be told adequately and precisely by means of sound.

The scientific worker can recount his discoveries and describe his methods or his hypotheses. Somehow, this seems to the listener a remote and unexciting presentation. I am not saying that what has been accomplished is insignificant but rather that new methods are needed if larger and more interested audiences are to be attracted to scientific programs.

There is, of course, some possibility of development in the direct line of sound effect. Perhaps not much can be conveyed by merely listening in on a laboratory, even with the help of a skillful commentator, but some of us remember the extraordinary effect on the air of the hammering of a stream of electrons upon a plate, magnified many times and broadcast directly. It is interesting to remark that radio listeners will generally not question such an assertion as that they are listening not to a machine gun as they would naturally think, but to the pounding of microscopic particles whose tiny impacts have been amplified. *The New Yorker*, satiric but often wise observer, commented on this credulousness saying that we could expect some time to have breathless millions listening while an invisible announcer said of an invisible event, for which there was no sound at all, "You will now hear the professor swallow the sword." No doubt credulousness can be taken advantage of but this ironic prediction indicates the extent to which honest broadcasters can

expect that their listeners will make vigorous use of their own imaginations. In this direction of sound effect, however, it does not seem likely that great progress can be made.

Another way would be by dramatization. Here we have to deal with two kinds of raw material. One is the material of science itself, the information, the attitudes, the methods, the implications. Also, however, we must deal with scientists. They are human beings whose detachment and impersonality are not always so evident outside the laboratory as they are in their professional practices. What really stands in the way of the journalist or script writer or dramatist who wants to put the savants' knowledge to the uses of the public is not the vanity of scientists; it is their professional tradition of reticence.

This is a question of extraordinary difficulty and delicacy. One of our chief reasons for trusting scientists and scholars is that they are usually modest men, not self-seeking, and sensitive to the exact limits of the truth. At the same time, if we are to catch and hold the attention of the broadcast audience we must deal in brighter colors and grosser accuracies.

Here is a good example. One of the best of our radio dramatists was commissioned to do a sketch on nutrition in a scientific series. A well-known food chemist was consulted and was asked to give an interview on the program discussing some of his own discoveries. To his learned colleagues, of course, this chemist is known for many distinctions. To the general public he is known by one picturesque and dramatic remark. He once said that "mother love" was a certain chemical substance in the diet. His "mothers" were rats and he had shown that the reduction of regular amounts of this drug in the feeding of a mother rat would make her neglect her young while a little more would make her brood.

The dramatist saw in this a quite legitimate artistic chance. He wrote an episode in the life of a jungle hunter, full of quick action and sound effects, and turning on the heroic devotion of a mother

lion to her cub. At the climax the calm voice of the scientist was to come in and say that "mother love" was so many grains of the right food. The chemist balked. He not only refused to take part in this episode, he would not even have anything further to do with the broadcast.

It is not my purpose to criticize this great authority on diet, or the dramatist either. They were both right up to a point—but points did not coincide. Unless some device such as dramatic presentation is used, the general public is not going to pay much attention to scientific broadcasts. Yet the scientist was right in thinking that the drama all but obliterated the science from the episode. He had a right to ask for a story that would illuminate a scientific point rather than a story told for the sake of its emotional impact, with a bit of scientific information used to add significance.

The question then is fairly put in this way: How much of their own quite natural reticence—or shall we say squeamishness?—should scientists give up in order to arouse wide interest in what they are doing and encourage the growing appetite of the average citizen to know more of what science is about?

My own opinion, offered here with full realization of the fact that I am not a scientist, is that the precise knowledge, the exact shade of meaning, and even the decorous modesty of the scientist's own way of putting things are not so important in this connection as the scientist himself believes them to be. What is important is that the general public gets, if it is in any way possible, some sense of the scientist's way of working and above all his way of thinking. To be sure, the laboratory worker does not think in drama. But what he does think very often has a dramatic meaning which in no way belies its importance in the search for truth. And the very impersonality and detachment of the laboratory worker are themselves dramatic if artfully described. The writer in turn should be willing to forgo emotional values that pale the knowledge he presents, as the glow of a conflagration obscures the technique of the fire.

fighters. He should dramatize science, not use science to further dramatic ends

There seem to be practical ways of making a compromise between the artist and the seeker after the cold truth. This paper cannot pretend to suggest what they may be. Our purpose here is no more than to state the problem. But compromise it will certainly have to be. If scientists continue to think that the untained general reader or listener—or for that matter even their colleagues in other disciplines—is going to struggle through harsh and dull technicalities, they will be lonesome in their knowledge. Any of them who really have a humane interest in the general welfare will not be content with that. On the other hand, of course, popularizers, such as those of us who would like to use the immense resources of the radio for educating the public in the scientific point of view, must realize that it must be the scientist's idea of science and not our own that is really worth teaching.

Lyman Bryson, director of the radio program "The People's Platform," is chairman of the Adult Education Board of the Columbia Broadcasting System. He is professor of education in Teachers College, Columbia University, author of *Adult Education* (1936) and *Which Way America?* (1939), and the editor of the Peoples Library

RADIO BUILDS DEMOCRACY

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Free discussion of public issues has always been a basic function of American democracy. One of the first acts of the American colonists upon landing on these shores was to build a meeting house in which they held their church services and town meetings. Not since the days of the Greeks' city-state was there such pure democracy as that which flowered in the early New England town meetings.

We lost something fine in our American life when we gave up this slow and somewhat tedious method of dealing with our common problems and developed the more efficient system of delegating the sovereignty of active citizenship to councils, boards of aldermen, mayors, and the like. It was essential that we evolve some efficient method of dealing with these problems, but it was not essential for us to lose the habit of meeting and reasoning together.

Little by little, we broke up into parties and pressure groups, until at last we had a situation where Republicans went only to hear Republicans, Democrats to hear Democrats, Socialists to hear Socialists, and Communists to hear Communists. The man in Wall Street knew nothing about the farmer who produced his wheat except as his crops affected the price of wheat on the Exchange. The fruit grower in California had little sympathy or understanding for the problems of the Gloucester fisherman, and the "dead-end kids" were nothing but disgusting brats to the residents of the upper East Side. We read congenial newspapers and we moved about with people whose views were similar to our own, and went only to those places where our prejudices were cultivated.

During the past century various attempts were made by educators to bring people together to have them listen to qualified speakers presenting different points of view on subjects of general interest. In 1831 Josiah Holbrook started the famous Lyceum Movement which flourished up to the latter part of the nineteenth century.

when, under the influence of too much entertainment, it degenerated into third-rate show business. Under the impetus of the successful work of the Chautauqua Institution on the shores of Lake Chautauqua in western New York State, which was founded in 1874 as a religious summer school by Bishop John H. Vincent and Lewis Miller, the tent Chautauquas put in an appearance in 1904 and did a thriving business for fifteen or twenty years. A few institutions like Cooper Union and the League for Political Education (now Town Hall) in New York City, the Old South and Ford Hall Forums of Boston, and the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences in Brooklyn were established as adult-education centers before 1920.

Then came the radio. In December 1923, the Foreign Policy Association began broadcasting a series of discussions on foreign affairs. In 1928, Dr. James G. McDonald, then chairman of the Foreign Policy Association, conducted a series of discussions in coöperation with the Radio Corporation of America under the program title, "The World Today." Supplemental aids were employed by the Association so that listeners might study the problems introduced by radio. An immediate effect of these broadcasts was to prove that there was a wide popular demand for serious discussions on the air. The Foreign Policy Association luncheons at the Hotel Astor have been broadcast intermittently since 1923. In these discussions, two or more speakers present different points of view on questions relating to world affairs or American foreign policy.

However, the date of February 22, 1923, stands as the first in the history of broadcasting when the radio was employed for debate on a public problem. That day the British Broadcasting Corporation scheduled and presented a debate in which the view proposed by Sir Ernest Benn, "That Communism Would Be a Danger to the Good of the People," was opposed by Mr. J. T. F. Walton Newbold, M.P. The success of this venture led the BBC to continue scheduling similar debates until recent years.

During the twenties, here in the United States, the relationships

between educators and broadcasters were not too good. While the radio industry was shaping itself into its present pattern, the educators were experimenting with various types of programs—everything from straight classroom broadcasts to political speeches by State legislators—but a lack of public interest doomed most of these efforts to failure. At one time there were two hundred and twenty educational broadcasting stations. There are now about thirty.

In 1931, the National Advisory Council of Radio in Education was established by grants from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the Carnegie Corporation, and under the direction of Dr. Levering Tyson inaugurated several programs, among them a series of discussions by eminent American leaders under the title, "You and Your Government." Broadcast over the NBC networks, this series, which represented the first important attempt at coöperation between the educators and the broadcasters in this field, continued until 1936.

In January 1931, the University of Chicago Round Table made its first appearance, but it did not become a network broadcast until October 1933. This was the first nationwide radio discussion forum. Three, sometimes four, University of Chicago college professors gathered around the microphone at 12.30 on Sunday afternoons to discuss for a national audience one of the major controversial issues of the day. It was always informal and unrehearsed except for conversations among the participants earlier in the week. This program, now in its tenth year, was originally produced on the network by the University Broadcasting Council. During the past two seasons it has been produced under the direction of Mr. Sherman Dryer and has received annual grants from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation averaging more than \$40,000. It is broadcast now over the NBC Red Network on Sunday afternoons at 2.30 to 3.00 o'clock Eastern Standard Time, originating in the University of Chicago studios.

The first attempt at a forum discussion program with audience participation came in the spring of 1935 when, on May 30 of that year, the first of a series of six experimental programs called

"America's Town Meeting of the Air" was launched Under its original name, the League for Political Education, Town Hall had been conducting lectures and discussion programs in New York City for forty years. In April the author, then associate director of Town Hall, presented the idea of America's Town Meeting to Mr. John Royal, the executive vice-president of NBC in charge of programs. NBC offered to pay the out-of-pocket expenses and furnish the network for a series of six experimental programs with the understanding that each meeting was to be a cooperative effort between the Town Hall and the National Broadcasting Company. The initial meeting, "Which Way America—Fascism, Communism, Socialism or Democracy?" participated in by Lawrence Dennis, A. J. Muste, Norman Thomas, and Raymond Moley, brought in a flood of three thousand letters, although only eighteen stations carried the program. Here was something new in radio: ten-minute speeches by four speakers holding widely diversified points of view, speaking from the same platform on the same evening, and being questioned by an audience of fifteen hundred people. Nothing like it had occurred before in radio. There had been radio debates, for Theodore Granik had presented a Sunday afternoon series on WOR as early as 1928. But the audience-participation angle was new. The informal questioning of the speakers on their prepared speeches was new. The experimental series was so successful that the program has been continued for the past five years on the same basis, being broadcast over NBC's Blue Network every Thursday evening during a twenty-six week season, from 9.35 to 10.30 Eastern Standard Time.

From the first this program began to elicit mail telling of listening groups that had been formed in schools, colleges, churches, clubs, and by all kinds of organizations. One group met on Thursday nights in the back of a drugstore in Provincetown, Massachusetts; others met in the homes of neighbors and friends. Interest extended to Canada, where a group of trappers met each week in far-off

Engen, British Columbia. These groups began to ask for discussion aids and material about the speakers, and they wanted to know how to organize a discussion group and keep it going.

In January 1938, a small fund was raised to start the Town Hall Advisory Service, which began its work the next fall under the direction of Mr. Chester D. Snell, former dean of the Wisconsin University Extension Division. A discussion leader's handbook and other aids were prepared, and weekly services on each program are supplied, including a statement of the background and issues of each subject, a selected reading list, and a "who's who" of all the speakers. There are now more than a thousand groups registered with Town Hall, but according to an estimate made by Frank E. Hill, field representative of the American Association for Adult Education, there are more than three thousand groups of various sizes which meet regularly and listen to the Town Meeting of the Air on Thursday nights and continue their discussion afterward. In short, through the miracle of radio, the educational aspects of the early New England town meeting have come to life again and are functioning as a bulwark of American democracy.

Dr. Lyman Bryson, professor of education at Teachers College, who rendered valuable assistance in the early development of "America's Town Meeting of the Air" as the principal discussion leader during the one-hour forum period which takes place in Town Hall before the Town Meeting goes on the air, was asked in January 1938 to become chairman of the Adult Education Board of the Columbia Broadcasting System. During the summer of 1938, Dr. Bryson and his associates evolved a new discussion program called "The People's Platform." In this program four or five people representing different points of view, after dining with Dr. Bryson in the studio, proceed to discuss a controversial question over a concealed microphone which is tuned in and out without the participants' knowing exactly when these operations take place. There are no prepared speeches and there is no audience participation. The unique

thing about this program, in addition to the extremely competent handling of the speakers by Dr. Bryson, is the completely spontaneous and natural conversation that takes place among his dinner guests. Most of them have never met before and one is usually the ubiquitous Mr. Average Citizen: a taxi driver, housewife, maid, or farmer. This program occurs on Saturday evenings from seven to seven-thirty, Eastern Standard Time, over the Columbia Broadcasting System.

About three years ago, Theodore Granik's debates on Station WOR moved to the auditorium of the Department of Interior Building in Washington adopting the name, "The American Forum of the Air," and was presented for the Mutual Network by WOR in cooperation with WOL. Abandoning the straight debate technique of previous years, Mr. Granik began to employ the joint discussion method in which two or more speakers present prepared statements, followed by a panel discussion, sometimes participated in by the principal speakers, sometimes by four others. Occasionally during the panel discussion Mr. Granik takes questions from the floor. This program now originates in the Willard Room of the Willard Hotel in Washington, and is presented on the Mutual Network Sunday evenings from 8:00 to 8:45 Eastern Standard Time.

Thus each of the four great nationwide networks presents each week, as a public service, its own distinctive type of discussion program. None of them is commercially sponsored.

Space does not permit an adequate description of these programs, nor is it possible to discuss thoroughly their impact on our democracy. Several researches have been made by independent agencies attempting to evaluate the effect of these programs upon our thinking. The criticism is made that those whose minds are made up when they listen to discussion programs have their convictions confirmed by the proponents of the views they hold and are not touched by the arguments of the opposing speakers. This is doubtless true. But it is also true that a substantial percentage of the American

people are not so closed-minded. These are the people who swing our elections; these are the people who are leaders in their communities; these are the people who have the capacity to deal with ideas; these are the ones for whom these programs are primarily produced. We cannot, in a democracy, compel a man to be open-minded; we can only show him two or more reasonable approaches to a problem and hope that he will exercise his gray matter in making a choice.

These four programs operate, principally, in one area of education; namely, stimulation. Both the Town Meeting and the Chicago Round Table supply bibliographies and other discussion aids in the printed record of each broadcast to encourage listeners to follow through in their study of each subject. There are many other fine educational programs on the air whose primary function is to impart information. The most important of these, of course, are the news broadcasts, although they are not recognized as educational. The all-popular quiz programs have probably imparted more information to more people than any of the conventional educational programs. Of importance also are the American School of the Air of CBS, the Farm and Home Hour, and the National Radio Forum, both of NBC, and scores of special events of an informative character.

In appraising the value of a radio program, the nature of the medium and the purpose of the program should constantly be borne in mind. By sad experience, the educators have learned that conventional classroom methods cannot be used on the air. When the words "talk" or "education" occur in the radio-program listings in the paper, they are assiduously avoided by most listeners. Educators who try to make the public take what they think they ought to have, whether it interests them or not, do a great disservice to the cause of education for democracy.

Whatever other attributes we may attach to democracy, it is certain that it presupposes a system of universal education and the dissemination of unbiased views and information on a basis which will

permit of an honestly informed public opinion. There are fifty million voters upon whom we are depending to determine the policies that will carry us through this critical period in the world's history.

For the attention of Mr. John Q. Citizen, educators are competing with the most skillful advertisers and publicity men in the world. In a single day, the average American must withstand at least a hundred adroit demands which call to him from the pages of his daily papers, billboards, car cards, radios, and telephones. The human animal does not take easily to his civic responsibilities. Reasonably he knows where his responsibilities lie, but he is very adept at rationalizing himself on to a golf course or into a motion-picture theater. These and a thousand other diversions are constantly bidding for his attention. The radio discussion program is a device which is designed to attract his attention and stimulate his interest in the complex economic, social, and political problems which he must have a hand in solving. It cannot do the whole job, but all things considered it is doing very well by American democracy in the season 1940-1941.

George V. Denny, Jr., president of Town Hall, is the founder and moderator of "America's Town Meeting of the Air." Formerly he was instructor of dramatic production, University of North Carolina, actor, director of the Institute of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University, and is now a member of the Executive Committee of the American Association for Adult Education.

The May issue of THE JOURNAL will continue the discussion of education and radio

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

RESEARCH METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, NEW JERSEY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, GLASSBORO, NEW JERSEY¹

Through the courses in educational sociology, a modest attempt has been made with extension students to train teachers-in-service in the elementary techniques of sociological analysis in fields relevant to educational procedures. The primary purpose of the studies carried on by students has been to enlarge the number of data concerning the environment of children so that formal education might better be coordinated with informal education. This result is obtained by a revaluation of formal education in comparison with the education of the gang, the community, the home, the church, etc. The hopeless ignorance of the average teacher regarding influences in the life of the child outside the walls of the classroom is largely responsible for the ineffectiveness of many educational procedures and techniques now used in the school. The courses in educational sociology are designed to reduce the weight of that ignorance.

Procedures. Students are first offered in an introductory sociology course the basic concepts of the science. The methods of application of the scientific method to the field of the social sciences are studied. With this background, the field of educational sociology is first surveyed, methods are studied, and practical projects are selected for analysis. Following a short course in logic and research techniques, the students are sent out to study some phase of community life in which they are interested. A description of the elementary research projects follows.

Social Base Maps. Because the first step encouraged is an ecological approach to the study of the community, the students are expected to map the community to be studied and to familiarize themselves with the

¹This statement is provided through the courtesy of Samuel E. Witchell, New Jersey State Teachers College.

location of social agencies of all types, neighborhood divisions, ethnic areas, recreational facilities, etc. On this map is included every house in the community or neighborhood observed, with its valuation symbolized. The collection of data is made by committees, where possible. While some members of the committee are busy constructing the map, others are collecting data from appropriate sources in the fields of juvenile delinquency, divorce, births and deaths, suicides, crime, social mobility, housing conditions, accidents, relief cases, etc. These data are then used to spot cases of each type on the map. The distributive aspects of social phenomena and correlations of statistical information are thus demonstrated. The finished product is then analyzed in class by the students and the instructor and the educational implications are pointed out to teachers. Not least among the benefits of this approach is the consequent co-operative efforts of teachers and other community leaders from whom information is gathered.

Historical Studies. While some students are busy on the ecological approach to the study of social problems and their relation to education, others are given the task of writing short histories of the community. In these reports, an attempt is made to observe the evolution of social agencies, the growing needs of the community and responding services, the growth of secondary institutions, and the inevitable conflict problems. A background of understanding is obtained in this way for the present status of the operative culture pattern. By getting statements from agencies concerning their *raison d'être*, one comes into possession of facts necessary for the demonstration of overlapping of efforts and consequent social waste. These facts are used in later studies of the needs for community planning. The histories are put into use in the classroom for teaching local history and growth.

Social Surveys. Interests in specific social problems, demonstrated as existent by the use of spot maps, give rise to more elaborate surveys of sociological phenomena. Studies of juvenile delinquency and gangs, housing, social mobility, conflict and cooperation in community agencies, etc., are made. The students are encouraged to make complete surveys of all aspects of community life only when they are located in very small towns. Rather, techniques are developed in the study of one problem rather fully so that a carry-over might be hoped for and that, later, fuller studies might be made. Most profitable work thus far has been done in studies concerning recreational activity, juvenile delinquency, and housing.

Case Studies The case-study technique is analyzed and demonstrated for the purpose of developing scientific approaches to the analysis of cases of classroom social adjustment. The psychology department cooperates with the department of sociology in developing basic concepts necessary to the wise use of this method. Most work in this field has been done by teachers who are working with underprivileged and culturally maladjusted groups.

Social Planning. Having observed the existence of social problems, their correlation, and possible causal relations, the students are encouraged to study the possibilities of social planning as a possible answer to many evident needs in the community. The Topsy-like growth of towns is analyzed, the needs observed, the present answer to those needs scrutinized, and possible improvements in techniques of meeting community needs are proposed. No greater blow to ethnocentrism can be dealt, it is believed here, than to acquaint teachers with social planning now in operation in some progressive localities. If the tree under which each teacher works can be seen in comparison with the other trees in the social forest, perhaps the social myopia now prevalent can be partially corrected.

This course is noted here not because of any originality in design or efficiency in operation, but because it has been observed to stimulate professional growth in this particular educational area.

A SURVEY OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND THE MARRIED WOMAN WORKER

Social-welfare aspects of the married woman worker who finds gainful employment are set forth in the recent survey on "The Position of Married Women in the Economic World," made by the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.

The study has been made under the direction of an advisory committee headed by Dr. Mary R. Beard, with Dr. Ruth Shallcross as research director.

The study tells the story of married women workers, why they work, what they earn, how they spend their money, and the effects of their working on family life. In the section headed "Sociological Aspects of Married Women's Gainful Occupation," certain general trends are pointed out. The survey states:

"In the recent discussion over married women's gainful employment, the remark has frequently been made that while women may have constitutional rights to work outside the home and while that work may not

be economically harmful, society must first of all think of perpetuating the race. It is further argued that when wives are employed outside the home, the family is jeopardized. The truth or error in these remarks depends upon sociological concepts of the family and of society.

"Disagreement arises not as to the importance of the home, but as to the effect on the home of certain changing social and economic policies and actions. Extreme views held by some careerists who depreciate the value of women's work in the home and those held by housewives who depreciate the value of women's work outside the home are of little help in any searching analysis, nor can we look about us and expect the truth to appear from a few isolated cases which can be called to mind.

"Formerly, mutual production created the tie which bound the family together. Marriage formerly was a union of economic helpmates for the purpose of procreation.

"With women's work leaving the home and with the dissemination of birth-control information, marriage became much more one of companionship. Despite this fact, the family concept in the mind of the average person still seems to assume the mother's place is in the home and the father's is in the outside world as a breadwinner. Our economic analysis has shown that the trend is away from that form of the family and the failure to recognize it readily shows the 'lag' of which the sociologists speak. What sociological effect this trend will have is shown in the following discussion of population and birth-rate and care of home and children.

"Population problems are extremely complex and there is some disagreement as to whether it is socially advantageous to increase the birth-rate. Some claim that, since the most wretched communities also have the highest birth-rate and since civilization has brought with it individual control which causes reproductive activity to diminish, social good has resulted from the greater care for the diminished number of offspring.

"Certain present-day governments do not agree with this thesis, although they differ in their attempts to raise the birth-rate. The German method of raising the birth-rate is coercion and bribing, exemplified in the Marriage Loan Labor Conscription Act of 1938 which forced women back into gainful employment under preparatory war economy. Sweden's method of raising the birth-rate is based on the assumption that women will have children if provisions are made for their care and support.

"Various factors affect the birth-rate, namely, death-rate, marriage-rate,

fertility and fecundity-rate, and the infant mortality-rate. Our problem is to see what effect the wife's working has on all these factors.

"Our marriage rate has declined from 10.6 per 1000 in 1921-1925 to 8.2 per 1000 in 1934, and this has an unfavorable reaction on the birth-rate.

"The National Education Association reported in their publication 'Fit to Teach,' that discriminatory policies on the part of school boards kept many teachers from marrying. Also during the depression men were loath to add new responsibilities to old ones by marrying, unless the wife could help in financing the new home. When women's economic value is high (as on farms or rural communities) their marriage-rate is also high. Discriminatory and economic forces which keep women single also decrease the birth-rate."

The survey points out that anything which releases restraints on reproductive enjoyment with no accompanying responsibilities will result in increasing the birth rate. If a family postpones pregnancy because of low income and the wife works to increase it, then her working has the effect of increasing the birth rate.

In conclusion the survey says that "no conclusive data exist with regard to the effect of women's working on the birth-rate. It is known, however, that women in the upper income brackets, where few of them work outside the home, have a lower birth-rate than do women in the low income groups where many of them are forced to work outside the home. This is indicative that the factor of working cannot be very important in its effect on birth-rate."

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs made the survey in the effort to obtain the exact facts regarding married women working for the benefit of legislators, writers, social-welfare workers, and those engaged in the study of social problems.

Results of the survey were published in popular pamphlet form in November 1940 and may be obtained through the office of the Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

BOOK REVIEWS

Audio-visual Aids to Instruction, by HARRY C. McKOWN and ALVIN B. ROBERTS. New York. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1940, 385 pages

This book is a practical guide for teachers and school administrators in the use and supervision of all types of audio-visual aids. The authors illustrate their use in all subjects and at all grade levels from the kindergarten through the high school. An excellent list of sources of materials and of equipment is also given.

Audio-visual aids are presented as supplementary to rather than as a substitute for other methods and materials of instruction. Teachers and administrators will find in this volume many practical suggestions and helpful sources of audio-visual aids that will improve the effectiveness of teaching and learning.

Radio and the Printed Page, by P. F. LAZARSFELD. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1940, 354 pages.

Although the subtitle states that this is a "study of radio and its role in the communication of ideas," it is very much more than "a study." The author has not only made a searching analysis of this comparatively new medium of mass communication, but he has also appraised it against the backdrop of world events as the most powerful agency of social control yet conceived by the human mind.

The data are drawn from many sources, but they are organized into a comprehensive and challenging volume. In these days when public opinion sways precariously on the vital issue of peace in the Americas or total war, this book should be read by every thinking American. Certainly those vitally concerned with the molding of opinion—the teacher, the adult educator, the sociologist, and the social worker—should give it thoughtful consideration.

The Invasion from Mars, a Study in the Psychology of Panic, by HADLEY CANTRIL. Princeton. Princeton University Press, 1940, 228 pages

A little more than a year ago, a musical program was suddenly interrupted by a startlingly vivid description of an invasion from Mars. The

ships with their strange and superhuman cargoes landed in North Jersey and spread out in rapid conquest. Almost immediately long-distance wires were jammed with voices of eager relatives from Washington to California and Maine to Florida inquiring anxiously regarding the safety of those who lived in the attacked zone. Roads were blocked with fleeing cars and several corroborated the radio account by reporting they saw the ships.

The following morning America awoke to the full realization of the power of radio and its own gullibility to effective techniques of broadcasting. This volume is a factual study of the panic created by the Orson Welles presentation. The book is interesting and provides an important case study in the tremendous potentialities of the radio in social control.

The Use of Radio in Parent Education, by SIDONIE GRUENBERG.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939, 94 pages.

This little volume is a report of a study conducted by the Child Study Association in cooperation with the National Council of Parent Education and the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. It summarizes the attitude of parents and of children toward the radio and raises a number of extremely important and pertinent questions.

Education on the Air. Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio. Columbus. Ohio State University, 1940.

This is one of a series of volumes summarizing the annual meeting of the Institute for Education by Radio held at Ohio State University. The papers read at the various sessions are printed in full.

The rapid developments in the use of radio both in the classroom and in adult education make this volume especially significant. The points of view of the broadcaster and the professional educator are presented as well as the problems of both the so-called commercial and educational stations.

Teachers, school administrators, and social scientists will find much of value in this volume as well as in the preceding yearbooks.

A more extensive number of reviews of books and other publications in this field will appear in the May issue.

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EDITORIAL

It has long been the contention of the writer that present sociology has been so concerned with social change that it has tended to lose sight of the continuity of basic social institutions. It is true that even these institutions—the family, church, social clubs, professional organizations, and the school—have undergone adaptation resulting primarily from increased communication, transportation, and mobility, but the fundamental values remain at least comparatively constant. This is true in every community but is a dominant characteristic of rural life.

Recently the writer returned to the Midwest town of his boyhood. There were a number of physical changes—the streets had been paved and a through highway constructed, several new buildings had been erected including a beautiful high school with all modern facilities, and the winding riverbanks had been made into a lovely park. Only a few of the young people whom I had known remained in the community. But the daily life of the folk remains almost unchanged; they worship in the same churches, belong to the same organizations, chat over backyard fences, and congregate in the village on Saturday, and, most important of all, have the same sense of neighborliness and of belonging to a community that continues to exercise a very real social control over youth and their elders alike.

Some one has said that "in the heart of the peasant lies the culture of a nation." No higher tribute can be paid than this.

Recognizing this fact, and, further, that nearly half of the nation's children still receive their elementary education in a one-room rural school, THE JOURNAL welcomes the opportunity of publishing this issue on rural life and education.

The issue has been edited by Dr. William E. Cole, professor of sociology at the University of Tennessee

FRANCIS J BROWN

NOTE: "Current Population Trends and Rural Education" by P. K. Whelpton was received too late for publication and will appear in the April issue

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY IN AMERICAN RURAL LIFE

T. LYNN SMITH

American rural life has suffered for want of a strong, highly integrated, and clearly defined rural community. Local government, organized on either a township or county basis, has suffered because of the artificial nature of the political boundaries; rural-school attendance lines have been able to follow no sharply differentiated social boundaries, and economic, recreational, and religious functions also have been adversely affected by the confused nature of rural locality groupings.

In part the lack of clearly defined and well-integrated community units in rural America is due to the settlement pattern used in arranging the population on the land. For the most part the single or isolated farmstead prevails throughout the entire United States. Where this is the case community lines are necessarily less distinct than where farmers' homes are clustered together as in the European farm village. But in part the nebulous state of American community outlines is due to the failure of governmental, educational, religious, economic, and other institutions to play their part in the development of distinct and integrated community units. Where attendance, taxation, and service districts are marked out in a haphazard manner without respect to social groupings, weak as these may be, the results are not conducive to the development of a stronger community consciousness and life.

The foregoing comments should not be interpreted to mean that rural America is entirely lacking in communities, but merely that these basic social groupings are not as healthy and flourishing as they might have been with more intelligent social planning.

Certain social groupings seem to be inevitable concomitants of human life. Kinship groupings offer one of the best examples of

these. The family has been observed among every people known to anthropology. Some kind of a locality group also falls into this category of inevitable social groupings. The neighborhood and the community are the principal groupings of this type. Because of the limitations of time, space, and man's ability to move about one or the other or both of these will be found in every society. The community or neighborhood may be strong or weak, their outlines may be distinct or blurred, but even in rural America they are always to be found. The fact that their territorial limits can serve as boundaries for various service areas is sufficient to make them of utmost importance in planning activities.

The community. The term *community* is very difficult to define in any specific sense. In popular language its connotations vary widely, and even in scientific usages community is a highly ambiguous term. In sociological literature it is used in two principal senses, both of them having very good authority in the Latin derivation. One of these refers merely to the qualities of solidarity, mutuality, or togetherness; the second denotes specifically a body of people in a definite geographic area.

In the present stage of our sociological thinking the meaning attached to the word community has derived from the work of two principal groups of workers. One of these is the purely theoretical group headed by Professor Robert M. MacIver. Members of this group have combined the Latin connotations and have used the term community to designate any social group having a definite locality basis. To quote from an early work by MacIver:

By community I mean any area of common life, village, or town, or district, or county, or even wider area. To deserve the name community, the area must be somehow distinguished from further areas, the common life may have some characteristics of its own such that the frontiers of the area have some meaning.¹

¹ R. M. MacIver, *Community* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1917), p. 22

More recently he has given an even clearer statement of this position in the following words:

Any circle of people who live together, who belong together, so that they share, not this or that particular interest, but a whole set of interests wide enough and complete enough to include their lives, is a community."

The influence of this line of thought upon current sociological practice has been considerable

Even more important, however, especially for all those who would attempt to use the community concept in activity programs, including rural education, are the contributions of the group pioneered by Dr. C. J. Galpin. Galpin's early Wisconsin studies, ably seconded by those of Sanderson and his students at Cornell, Kolb at Wisconsin, Taylor in Missouri and North Dakota, and many others working in the field of rural sociology, have determined with some degree of certainty the nature of the present locality group structure of rural America, and have pointed the direction in which it is moving. In sharp contrast with the work of MacIver and his associates, their work has been strictly empirical.

Galpin's pioneer work has done most to give a sound orientation with respect to the meaning attached to the word community as well as an understanding of the manner in which its boundaries may be determined. He began his work in a day when thinking concerning the rural community was in a very nebulous stage. Scattered settlement patterns, relatively large holdings only partially cultivated, the persistence of many social characteristics of the frontier, and many other factors set the typical American landscape into sharp contrast with the nucleated village settlements of the old world.

Early attempts by Butterfield and others set the limits of the rural community in terms of the "team haul." Nevertheless, for the most part, the close of the nineteenth century and the opening dec-

"R. M. MacIver, *Society Its Structure and Changes* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), pp. 9-10.

ade of the twentieth was a period in which the farmer was thought of as a man without a community.

Interestingly enough Galpin first sensed the nature of the inter-related web of life uniting villagers and farmers from the surrounding area into a functioning social group while he was teaching in a small-town academy in New York State. As a health-seeking resident of the "skims" in the Lake State's cutover area, and later as an organizer for a milk condensary in Walworth County, Wisconsin, Galpin gradually came to a realization of the real nature of the rural community. Later at the University of Wisconsin he formulated in objective terms his definition of a community, and set forth in a precise manner the mode of determining its limits.

Galpin's classic study was conducted in Walworth County. His problem was twofold: (1) from the standpoint of the village or town trade center he sought to determine all of the land area, all of the farm homes under its influence; and (2) from the point of view of the farm family he sought to know specific hamlet, village, and town attachments. Data gathered from each family were utilized by ingenious mapping devices in determining the relationships between each farm family and the centers of the county. In these maps were revealed for the first time the community groupings of an American county. Surrounding the twelve town and village trade centers of the county were twelve trade zones or trade basins dependent upon the respective centers, bounded by irregular lines, paying no regard to political boundaries, overlapping to some extent, and occasionally shading off into sort of a no man's land. Tributary to the twelve trading and commercial centers also were revealed eleven banking zones, seven distribution areas for local newspapers, twelve milk sheds, nine high-school patronage areas, and four library circulation areas. Concluded Galpin:

It is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the conclusion that the trade zone about one of these rather complete agricultural civic centers forms the boundary of an actual, if not legal, community, within which the ap-

parent entanglement of human life is resolved into a fairly unitary system of interrelatedness. The fundamental community is a composite of many expanding and contracting feature communities possessing the characteristic pulsating instability of all real life.³

Like the concept elaborated by MacIver, Galpin's definition includes both of the connotations which the term community derives from the Latin. Involved are a definite geographical area, social institutions, and social interaction between the people living in the area. Unlike MacIver's concept, that evolved by Galpin can readily be applied in the delimitation of specific and definite community areas such as those that could be used in determining rural-school attendance zones.⁴

The neighborhood. Emphasis on the community should not cause the important role of the neighborhood to be obscured. These are the smallest of the locality groups. They consist of small clusters of families. They are the next group beyond the family to have social significance. Neighborhoods are areas within which neighboring and mutual aid are common practices—they are areas within which the families are conscious of intimate relations with one another. It should not be forgotten that Cooley included the neighborhood, along with the family and the play group, in his class of "primary groups." He styled as primary groups those "characterized by intimate face-to-face association and coopération."⁵ They are primary in that they are the molds in which are set the individual's personality, social nature, and ideals. For the adult the neighborhood is the only primary group other than the family, a fact of no little significance to the farmer.

During colonial times, the neighborhood was the basic locality group, and it might be said that society was in the neighborhood

³ Charles J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community* (Madison, Wis. Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 34, 1915, pp. 18-19).

⁴ An excellent example of practical delineation of neighborhoods and communities for such purposes is Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, "Alabama Rural Communities: A Study of Chilton County," *Alabama College Quarterly Bulletin*, XXXIII, No. 1A (July 1940).

⁵ Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), p. 23.

stage. In recent years the importance of the neighborhood has been overshadowed by the community. In fact, in modern America the neighborhood is for the most part merely a segment of a given community. In the South the neighborhood still retains much of its former importance, while the community is coming into its own there more slowly than elsewhere. But even in the South neighborhoods are gradually losing in importance and being transformed into parts of the emerging community.

*Trends in the structure and role of the community.*⁶ At least seven trends of fundamental importance are modifying the nature and role of the American rural community: (1) the community is expanding in size; (2) communities are supplanting and overlaying neighborhoods as the basic locality groupings; (3) internally the structure of the community is becoming very much more differentiated; (4) community boundaries or lines are becoming even more blurred or indistinct; (5) the social solidarity of the community is gradually shifting from a type based on similarities to one based on division of labor and the resulting mutual interdependence of persons in the locality group; (6) class lines within the rural community are becoming more distinct and of more social significance, and (7) basic social processes are now operating in a manner quite different from that which has been customary in the past.

The available soundings on community size indicate that the limits of the community are expanding. Studies by Sanderson and others in New York State are among the most painstaking. Their results reveal that the larger villages are receiving increased patronage in business but not in other social activities.⁷ Brunner and his associates have made some of the most comprehensive studies. Between 1924 and 1930, the areas of influence of villages of all sizes increased, although a large part of the individual villages were

⁶ The analysis in this section follows closely that in my article, "Trends in Community Organization and Life," *American Sociological Review*, V (June 1940), pp. 327-330.

⁷ Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York*. Ithaca: Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 614, 1934, pp. 93-94.

static.⁸ Six years later, in 1936, a second resurvey again revealed a gradual trend in the direction of expanding community boundaries. Between 1930 and 1936 there was a significant increase in the size of the trade basin in one third of the 140 communities studied.⁹ Colonial society was very largely cut to the neighborhood pattern. With minor exceptions, the principal locality groupings were small in size, consisted of persons closely knit together by intimate social bonds, were areas within which the social interaction was almost exclusively on a face-to-face basis, and were groupings so limited in scope that, despite a high degree of family self-sufficiency, it was necessary to go outside the limits of the group for the satisfaction of many of the elemental needs of life. As the frontier edged forward from the Appalachians to the Pacific, neighborhoods were the bases used for establishing orderly social relationships among the pioneers and their descendants.

As locality groups have enlarged their boundaries, it has had the effect of making the community supplant the neighborhood as the basic locality group in American life. This trend has been under way for many years. In the areas surveyed by Brunner and his associates, over one third of all the locality groupings classed as neighborhoods disappeared between 1924 and 1936, and nearly one fourth of them had fallen by the way between 1930 and 1937. Especially in the South there is occurring before our eyes a very rapid transformation of society from a neighborhood to a community basis.

As the community enlarges, as neighborhood lines become indistinct, as one community declines in importance to the extent that it becomes a mere satellite (neighborhood) within the influence of another, and as the internal structure of the community becomes differentiated, it becomes harder to distinguish precisely where the limits of one community end and those of another begin.

⁸ Edmund deS. Brunner and John H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933), p. 94.

⁹ Edmund deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), p. 85.

As resurvey has succeeded resurvey, Brunner and his associates report increasing difficulty in determining the limits of the communities in their sample.

That a combination of the rural and urban modes of living, *i.e.*, "rurbanization," is occurring few will be inclined to doubt. On the basis of intensive studies of communities in the States of Indiana, Minnesota, and North Dakota, and of the locality groupings in the State of Louisiana over a thirty-year period, the writer has described the observed trends in locality group relationships. These are as follows:

There has been a tendency for centers of various sizes to distribute themselves more uniformly with regard to the area, population, and resources of the State. Or, the changes seem to be in the direction of a more efficient pattern of rural organization. This redistribution of centers in conjunction with improved methods of communication and transportation has placed each family in frequent contact with several trade centers, which means that the loyalty of the farm family is divided among several centers instead of being confined to one. This, too, makes for heterogeneity in the locality group and decreases the differences between various locality groups.

From 1901 to 1931 important alterations took place in the internal structures of the trade centers. A fundamental tendency towards specialization and division of labor between trade centers was found to be underway. Analysis of the existing situation in 1931 showed that, despite much overlapping, the small centers were specializing in certain types of services, medium-sized centers in others, and the largest centers in still others. Analysis of changes since 1901 showed that this division of labor had become much more evident during the thirty-year period. In general small centers nearest the farms are ceasing the attempt to provide all services and concentrating their efforts upon certain types of enterprises for which their location gives them a comparative advantage. The types of enterprises offered by the smallest centers are: those which are most undifferentiated, those satisfying the most immediate needs, those most closely connected with agricultural production and those which process farm products. As centers became larger, these types became relatively less important, and more highly specialized types made their appearance. Thus

has an immediate influence upon the behavior of the farm family. Small centers near the farm are resorted to for securing services which meet many of the most pressing needs, large centers at a greater distance, for services satisfying other less immediate needs, and even the largest centers at considerable distance, for supplying some of the least pressing needs of the farm family

The manner in which centers are now distributed, and the internal changes they have been undergoing lead to the belief that small centers are not doomed to extinction. Probably part of the small centers, those which are poorly situated with respect to modern arteries of communication and transportation, will continue to decline and disappear, but others more favorably located will continue to serve many of the pressing and basic needs of the population immediately surrounding them.¹⁰

The results of the New York studies presented by Sanderson are in agreement. According to him, the typical open-country family in New York State now resorts to the local village or hamlet at a distance not exceeding three miles for one half of all services. Groceries, auto repairs, hardware, feed, church, grange, and school make up the bulk of these. Four out of ten families go not over four miles to a slightly larger village for similar services. From a still larger village distant four to six miles, three fourths of all families receive services such as banking, groceries, drugs, furniture, work clothes, movies, physician, high school, lodge, hardware, shoes, and weekly newspaper. Nine out of ten families patronize a city distant 15 miles or more for dress clothes, furniture, shopping goods, and luxuries. Finally, the mail-order firm is used by one tenth of the families for clothing, hardware, and automobile equipment, and sundries.¹¹ John H. Kolb, writing in Wisconsin some fifteen years after Galpin, has arrived at essentially the same conclusion.¹²

The nature and basis of the cohesion within the community is changing in a fundamental manner. Definitely on the decrease

¹⁰ T. Lynn Smith, *Farm Trade Centers in Louisiana 1901 to 1931*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 234, 1933, pp. 54-55.

¹¹ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

¹² *Trends in Town-Country Relations*. Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin 117, 1933, p. 28.

is the cohesion which results from likenesses and similarities, called by Giddings "consciousness of kind," by Toennies "*gemeinschaft*," and by Durkheim "mechanistic solidarity." In other words, what Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin have called the cumulative group is being replaced by what Kolb has called special interest groups. As social relationships in a given area become more heterogeneous, the community must depend more and more for its unity and cohesion upon that type of social solidarity which develops out of division of labor, specialization, and the consequent lack of self-sufficiency on the part of the individual. The resulting interdependence—buttressed by give-and-take, live-and-let-live attitudes and a contractual type of cooperation—provides much of the unity to be found in the present-day communities. In the past, this type of solidarity, which Durkheim called organic, has been much less important; in the future, its role promises to be much greater in the community.

The basic point is that the nature of community solidarity is shifting very rapidly from the type based upon likenesses and consciousness of kind to one based upon a conscious recognition of basic differences, lack of self-sufficiency, and mutual interdependence of parts.

Within the community also is occurring a fundamental change in such basic processes as conflict and cooperation. The nature of social conflict has responded to changes in the structure and solidarity of the community. Formerly, the lines of cleavage between various social groupings were abrupt, sharply defined, and unbridged by class differences. In a community that possessed a high degree of mechanistic social solidarity, the limits of the most important social groupings tended to coincide; political, religious, kinship, and occupational lines followed one another closely. Today, much of this has changed. Increased social differentiation has added new social groupings, and the lines of demarcation have followed new channels. The old lines of cleavage have become blurred. The

limits of a given group's influence have become more vague and ill-defined. Much overlapping has occurred, and there is much less tendency for the boundaries of one social grouping to parallel those of another; political groupings within the community no longer follow family lines so closely, religious cleavages cut across occupational lines; and a new class consciousness has cut across all these groupings. A method of sampling which made possible accurate forecasts of 1928 and 1932 elections was no longer valid by 1936.

These changes are of significance from the standpoint of social conflict. Misunderstandings between groups of one kind over differences in one sphere are much less likely to be aggravated by differences of another variety. Political struggle within the community is not so strongly drawn up along town-country lines; family feuds are not strengthened by occupational, political, and religious differences; and religious struggle is not at the same time a conflict between different economic strata, kinship groups, political entities, and occupational alliances. Except for the intensification of class struggle, all of this confusion tends to weaken the intensity and shorten the duration of inter- and intracommunity conflict. Blood feuds extending generation after generation are unthinkable in a community whose solidarity is of the organic type. At the present time, it is possible for a large part of the population of the community to play the role of mere spectator in connection with local conflict situations.

Cooperation and cooperative activities also are rapidly undergoing fundamental transformations in the communities of the nation. As social differentiation and division of labor have replaced mechanistic solidarity with that of an organic type, coöperative activities within the community have been changing from a mutual-aid basis to a more deliberate and contractual type. This kind of cooperation operates through a formally constituted organization, possessed of specific rules, and is set up on a strict give-and-take basis. Unlike the former, it is not spontaneous; it must be promoted.

It need not be personal, and in fact is frequently highly impersonal. Adjustment to this contractual variety of cooperation is one of the basic problems confronting the communities of the nation

Thus the facts seem to be: (1) both the neighborhood and the community are losing exclusive claim to the loyalty and patronage of the individual family; (2) neighborhoods are not doomed to extinction, but will find their principal role as a complementary part of the enlarged community; (3) communities are developing complementary and supplementary relationships among themselves, are allowing the neighborhood to play a definite role, and are seeing the individual families participate in the activities of the great society in an extracommunity capacity; (4) the family is gradually dividing its attachments and loyalty among the surrounding neighborhood, the encompassing community, and the centers of industry and trade whose influences envelop the community; (5) cohesion within the community is rapidly shifting from the spontaneous type based on social similarities to a more consciously live-and-let-live type based on specialization and division of labor; (6) class differences are becoming more sharply defined and even more of the caste element is being observed; (7) social conflict is becoming more prevalent, but also more intermittent, less deep and cutting; and (8) old informal mutual-aid practices are giving way to cooperative practices based on conscious contractual relationships

Conclusion. The emerging community now coming to be the basic locality group in rural America involves at least three elements:

1. The community is a definite geographic area—it is a social group with a specific territorial basis Galpin's method of determining the limits of this area seems most useful for the present.
2. It is also the social interaction of the people—persons, families, and other social groups in the area—including general assent to the proposition that the welfare of all the people in the area is inextricably tied up with the fortunes of the community as a whole.

3. Finally it is a level of social relationships attained by pyramiding from the person to the family, from the family to the neighborhood, and from the neighborhood to the community

For rural education the significance of this hierarchy of social relationships which pyramids from the person to the family, the family to the neighborhood, and from the neighborhood to the community is very clear. These various groupings constitute natural attendance areas; and their culmination, the community, is a logical unit for school administrative purposes. This point deserves further elaboration. So far society has thought it best to leave the child with the parents for the first six years, making the family the first educational attendance area. So efficient is the rural family in performing its educational functions, so multiple the ideas, tasks, skills involved in farm work and farm living that it would seem wise to continue this practice. From six to nine or six to twelve, however, the child might very well begin in a gradual manner to participate in the larger society and to secure the elements of a formal education. That the transition be not too abrupt and that the child continue to profit most from family influences, his first school years should be spent in a small school in close proximity to the home. The neighborhood offers an excellent natural unit, with both a geographic and social base, to serve as an attendance area for a school including the first three to six years. As the child becomes more mature and advanced, as he becomes more sturdy physically, and as his social contacts increasingly occur outside family circles, he may very well be assembled with his fellows from his own and other neighborhoods in a school serving the entire community. Here he can continue, amid surroundings more removed from his home environment and more in contact with the larger world, with the completion of his elementary- and the securing of his high-school education.

By proceeding in this manner educational programs could capitalize on the natural social units of rural America. Beyond the ele-

mentary schools rooted in the neighborhood, the community can logically serve as a focal point for the educational activities of advanced elementary- and high-school levels. Just as the community supplements and complements the neighborhoods in economic, political, and other social spheres, making life more complete by offering types of service which would be impractical on a neighborhood basis, in the educational realm the community can find its plane of greatest service as a focal point for more advanced educational activities.

Furthermore, from the standpoint of social relationships in general, schools planned in such a manner that their boundaries of influence would coincide with those of locality groups would play their part in increasing the elements of neighborliness and community life within the rural locality groups. In this manner they would draw strength from neighborhood and community units, but they would feed back into these locality groups strength giving elements of social interaction and the example of successful working together for the attainment of common purposes.

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THE RELATION OF THE SCHOOL TO THE SOCIOLOGICAL STATUS OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY¹

DWIGHT SANDERSON

Each age has certain significant historical trends in the evolution of human institutions. The decline of feudalism, the industrial revolution, and the rise of public schools were epoch-making trends of their times. In the last quarter century two of the outstanding trends in our own rural culture have been the emergence of the rural community and the growth of the school as a community institution.

In the settlement of this country the pattern of rural social organization was that of the country neighborhood, the country church, and the one-room country school. In those days villages and farms formed two distinct sections of rural society, and there was little sense of interdependence between them. Since the World War this has been rapidly changing toward centering rural institutions in the villages and bringing together the villages and the surrounding farms in the support of these common interests as rural communities. Various factors have influenced this trend toward the reorganization of rural life on a community basis, notably better transportation by automobiles and good roads, better communication by telephone and radio, the decline of rural population over vast areas, and higher standards of living resulting from more urban contacts. By and large, the rural community is an emergent group—it is in the process of becoming.

In the past the village was chiefly a trading center and the store was its characteristic institution. Today villages are competing for the farmer's trade and in many of them business is no longer their primary service to the countryside. With the rapid growth of rural

¹ A paper delivered before a round-table session of the American Association of School Administrators, Cleveland, Ohio, February 28, 1939. See also, Dwight Sanderson, *School Centralization and the Rural Community*, Cornell Extension Bulletin 445, September 1940.

high schools and consolidated schools, the school has become the central community institution. It has had a profound influence on the formation of rural communities, for usually these new schools are possible only where village and country unite to furnish a sufficient constituency for their support.

Prior to 1910 only a few rural children ever expected to attend high school, for rural high schools were not generally available. Since then it has become an accepted objective of rural educators that rural children should be able to attend high school and live at home. As a result the growth of rural high schools has been phenomenal, and they have been a primary factor in the integration of larger rural communities. During the same period, and for similar reasons, the consolidation of schools has developed rapidly in many communities which could not support high schools, and has had the same effect on the integration of smaller rural communities.

There has also been a steady decrease of open-country churches and an increase in the number of farm families attending village churches. The village is becoming the church center. But whereas the church was formerly the chief social institution of the village, in many cases the consolidated school is now relatively more important, for it commands the support of all the people in the community. The school has, therefore, a central position in the type of rural community that is now developing.

The same factors that have brought about the new type of village-centered community have also made possible a much more complex rural organization. In the old days of mud roads there were relatively few rural organizations. Farm and Home Bureaus, 4-H Clubs, farmer's cooperative associations, and many other organizations have been made possible by better transportation and communication, which have also brought rural people into direct contact with the cities. Formerly a trip to the city was an event. Today, in large areas, the city newspaper comes to the farm daily,

and the radio brings news and entertainment from the city at all hours. With rural free delivery farm families have more magazines and weeklies, all of which come from the city. Rural life is becoming urbanized, but it is also becoming more complex within the local community. The child grows up in a more complex social environment.

Although the rural community is much more self-sufficient than is the city in times of depression, yet it is increasingly dependent upon the outside world. It becomes more and more a part of the great society.

As community life has become integrated and the rural social environment has become more complex, educational objectives have been enlarged and the school is coming to have a new appreciation of its sociological relationships to the community and to other institutions. The school no longer conceives its job to be merely the teaching of the three R's, and giving the individual intellectual tools for his personal success, but has the social objectives of making good citizens of the state and better members of the family. In short, it seeks to develop personality and character. To succeed in these social objectives the school cannot function solely within its own walls, for it learns that the community, the family, the church, and other agencies influence the personality of the child and have their part in his education. The school is, therefore, beginning to recognize that it must work with the community and that only through developing his community relations can the best socialization of the child be achieved. Thus the community is essential to the educational process. Without the concrete social environment of the rural community the school loses an important educational influence.

The rural community is peculiarly important to this end because of its relatively strong social control. Within it people are known to each other and public opinion has much more influence on the individual's behavior than in the city. The social control of the rural

community makes for a certain conservatism, which may be a healthful influence in this age of rapid change, and its more personal, primary group relationships give a satisfaction and a sense of security.

Furthermore, the rural community, in spite of the increasing complexity of its life, is so simple and concrete that the average individual can grasp the social relations involved in it, and this makes it peculiarly valuable in the social education of the young. The ordinary individual may have a satisfying status in a rural community, which is much more difficult to attain in a city.

Urban civilization suffers from an excessive individualism, and there is a necessity for creating loyalty and devotion to the common welfare if we are to maintain the basic values of a satisfying culture. City people are too easily dominated by mass psychology and swayed by the clever demagogue. In the rural community it is easier for the average citizen to grasp the local situation, to do his own thinking, and to have a definite, if humble, part in the life of the community. Because of the predominant influence of the city in contemporary western civilization it is important that a virile community life be created in the rural areas, so that we may have the contribution to the national life of a distinctive rural culture, which will make use of the utilities of modern civilization, without being dominated by them.

There is a definite danger that present tendencies toward centralization may interfere with the best development of rural communities. Many functions of local government, such as health and public welfare, have already been taken over by the county government in many States, and county functions are being absorbed or controlled by the State. Indeed, some political scientists hold that there is no need for any unit of local government smaller than the county, and some States have already gone so far as to centralize all administration of roads or schools in the State.

The fundamental issue in this whole problem seems to be that of

efficiency versus democracy There is no question that local administration is relatively less efficient, but there may be values to a democracy in permitting communities to learn by their own mistakes. Child guidance is good, but the child who is dominated has difficulty in achieving an independent personality

School centralization may also weaken or even destroy the rural community if it is not wisely handled, and thus may break down the organization of the child's social environment, for which there is no adequate substitute. Here again the issue seems to be between the values of certain standards of efficiency and the values of a well-integrated community as necessary to enable its people to create for themselves a satisfactory social environment If efficiency be measured only by cost per pupil or proposed standards of curriculum content, then many a small community will be deprived of its school, whether consolidated elementary school or high school, and the value to the school of its community relations may be lost Placing the school outside the natural community alienates community interest, and the child becomes a nonresident pupil in an alien social environment Such a school cannot function as a social center for those who do not accept it as a part of their community.

It is obvious that there is no simple formula for solving this problem of opposing values School consolidation is desirable and every little hamlet cannot support a satisfactory high school. What principle is there that may be safely followed in the centralization of schools? As a basic principle it would seem that the consolidation of institutions of the small community should be effected only when the institutions centralized in the larger community will serve the social and economic needs of the people better and more satisfactorily and will enable them to have a primary community of interests in the larger community because they feel that it does give them better social facilities and a larger association. To preserve a healthy social organization it is better to proceed by evolution than by revolution, and it may be better to wait until the smaller com-

munity may be naturally assimilated by the larger community. This does not mean that weak, inefficient high schools should be maintained in small communities, but that the value of the school in the community life and the preservation of as much of a community as may be possible should be given as much consideration as efficiency of cost or curriculum.

Much of the difficulty may be resolved by making a clear-cut distinction between the consolidation of attendance districts and the integration of attendance districts into a larger administrative unit. The administrative unit may be greatly enlarged with added efficiency without necessarily interfering with an attendance unit which will preserve community identity. In the United States we have long worshipped mere bigness, and this has a subtle influence on school consolidation. There is no merit in bigness for its own sake, however much satisfaction the school principal may have from having a larger fleet of school busses than neighboring schools.

A realistic analysis of this problem is not possible if we consider the rural community as a generic type of social organization. Small and large rural communities differ as much in structure and function as do the small city and the metropolis. Furthermore, rural people are no longer confined to one community, for although their primary loyalty may be to the local community it often forms part of a larger community for certain purposes. The organization of rural society is not made up of discrete rural communities, but is a system of communities. Formerly we thought of the chemical structure of matter as composed of atoms of a definite list of chemical elements. Now we know that atoms form a system of protons, electrons, and neutrons, and that atoms differ in their potential relationships. So rural organization is a *system* of communities, small and large, each having certain distinctive functions and values.

From one half to two thirds of all rural community centers are small villages of under 250 inhabitants. About one fourth are villages of from 250 to 1,000, and about one twelfth are large villages

of from 1,000 to 2,500 persons. Many towns of from 2,500 to 5,000 inhabitants are really rural, although not so classified by the Census.

In general, the small rural community, with a village of under 250, has difficulty in holding its own, and more small communities are declining in population than are the larger ones. Although the small village has one or two stores and a garage, its business is declining and it is held together by its social institutions more than by its economic life. Its church, school, and farmer's organization are its strongest bonds. It needs the school as a social center. Where community loyalty is strong and there is prospect that other community institutions will persist so that it will maintain its identity, and if there is a sufficient constituency for a sixth-grade elementary school, it may be better to maintain an elementary school in the small village than to transport the young pupils to a large school elsewhere. The small community would then form part of a larger community for high-school purposes. Many of these small communities are already being absorbed into larger communities. Where this trend seems probable, the school may be centralized, but this should not be forced on the small community if it has a sufficient constituency to maintain a satisfactory sixth-grade school. This is particularly true for the host of larger small villages with from 200 to 500 inhabitants.

The medium-sized rural community, with a village of from 500 to about 1,200, will maintain itself as a social and economic unit. It has most of the services commonly used by country people: banks, hardware and drug stores, professional men and craftsmen, lodges, and better churches. Most villages of this size are not losing population. A large proportion of these villages now have high schools, but they are small, weak, and inefficient. Where the attendance is too small to justify a senior high school, and there is a large enough constituency for a satisfactory junior high school, in many cases it may be better to have a small junior high school than to transport all high-school students to a larger center. This may warrant some

sacrifice as to cost and efficiency, for if the high school is entirely removed it will seriously weaken the community life.

The large rural community has a village of about 1,200 to 2,500. Such a village has a larger variety of services, such as motion-picture theaters, clothing stores, and is practically self-sufficient except for luxuries and expert services. This is the best place for a senior high school, which will be the central institution for integrating the larger rural community. This larger community will include several of the smaller communities, and will unite them in the maintenance of those institutions and services which they cannot support individually.

Places of from 2,500 to 5,000 inhabitants which are dependent upon a rural constituency may be called rural towns, although they tend to have more urban than rural characteristics. The high school in the rural town will probably not serve the farm families of the small communities as well as one in a large village, for it has too large a proportion of nonfarm students who will dominate its policies. However, if high-school education is to be extended to the junior-college level, the town is the natural place for a junior college to serve a rural constituency.

As previously indicated, there are situations in which it is questionable whether weak communities can or should survive. What criteria may guide a wise diagnosis of such a situation? I have elsewhere attempted to state some such criteria.

Assuming that the rural community will usually, but not necessarily, consist of a village and the tributary open-country, it should have:

1. A geographic area in which there may be habitual association of its people in the chief interests of everyday life, and in participation in its institutions and organizations.
2. An area with a sufficient constituency, or "volume of business," to permit a specialization of functions which small communities cannot support.
3. An area with sufficient wealth to support its institutions, or, lacking

this, which is a natural unit for commanding the best investment of outside aid, governmental or private.

4. An area in which the common interests or indivisible utilities and resources warrant an equalization of costs so as to afford adequate institutional services to all parts of the area

These criteria may be summed up in terms of relative self-sufficiency, opportunity for personal association, and pooling of resources for desired institutions.²

The importance of preserving the rural community has been well recognized by the Regents' Inquiry in New York when it says with regard to the "Proper Size School District for New York State" that it should:

4 Coincide as far as possible with the natural community boundaries and where possible, with local government units so that cooperative services may be arranged, particularly in connection with health, traffic control, planning, recreation, the joint use of plant, and proper management of public debt;

5 Keep the schools and the government of the schools close to the people so that the citizens generally, including the parents and taxpayers, may know what their schools are doing, may have an effective voice in the school program, and may participate in the community use of the school building.

These last two factors, relation of the school to the natural community and closeness of the school to the people, are of first-rate educational significance and are not to be sacrificed in the interest of "efficiency." If such a sacrifice is made to establish economical districts, we will find in a generation that something of deep significance which money cannot buy has been destroyed.³

My plea, then, is not against centralization or consolidation as such, for it is a process which is necessary and desirable, but that in this process the importance of preserving and strengthening com-

² From my article "Criteria of Rural Community Formation" in *Rural Sociology*, December 1938

³ Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, *Education for American Life* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938), pp. 89-90

munity life be given equal consideration with factors of cost and efficiency. The education of the individual is not the sole objective of the school; it must also aid in creating a fine social environment, for otherwise the school will be unable to achieve its primary function of giving the individual the best sort of education. Furthermore, the responsibility of the school must not be conceived as solely for the child. The school is just entering the field of adult education. As adult education becomes a larger phase of its program, the importance of the school as a community center will increase.

The improvement of the rural community and its institutions is the best means of building a rural culture with distinctive values, which will strengthen our whole society, and the school, particularly the high school, has a major responsibility for assisting the process of rural community organization. There are values in integration, but there are also values in the individual differences of communities as well as of individuals. In the process of perfecting a reorganization of the attendance areas and administrative districts of rural schools there is the opportunity for creating a better pattern for rural society. School district reorganization means setting a new pattern for rural organization not only for tomorrow, but for generations to come. It is a turning point in the organization of rural society. School administrators have a heavy responsibility to see that this pattern is such as will make possible a better social organization of rural communities rather than one which will disintegrate them, for they have the opportunity of a century to create the plan by which a fine rural culture can be built.

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A STATE REBUILDS THE SCHOOLS OF ITS RURAL AREAS

THE CENTRAL RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

JULIAN E. BUTTERWORTH

During the last twenty years a movement looking toward improvement in the educational provisions for rural people has been under way in New York. So significant is this movement for the development of a better type of rural living that a brief statement regarding it and its results seems useful.

The major factor in this program is the central rural school district, but, naturally, what is accomplished through it will depend largely upon the personnel. While first recognition should be given to the leadership of the Commissioner of Education and of the Division of School Administrative Services, so ably directed by Ray P. Snyder, too much credit cannot be given to those district superintendents, principals, school board members, and patrons throughout the rural areas of the State who have caught the vision of what may be achieved.

The major provisions of the Law. The Education Law of New York provides for the laying out of central districts " . . . in any territory, exclusive of a city school district conveniently located for the attendance of scholars and of suitable size for the establishment of central schools to give instruction usually given in the common schools and in high schools, including instruction in agriculture." The plan for this type of district is made locally with or without advice from the State Education Department, but the approval of the Commissioner of Education gives opportunity for the State to influence the establishment of such districts so that the best possible provision may be made for all the children in that section of the State. The adoption is made by the locality, the entire area of the proposed centralization voting as a unit so that the proposal for the new district may not be defeated by one or more constituent districts

representing a minority. A board of education of five members has responsibility for all educational policies within the new district except that the first six grades may not be discontinued unless the people in the area constituting the original district so vote. State aid of several types is provided. There is an "equalization quota" based upon the general program of equalization in the State. Briefly, this provides for the maintenance of a minimum educational program at a local tax rate of five mills on the equalized valuation. A central district is entitled, furthermore, to an "additional quota" which includes the aid granted to the original constituent districts before centralization took place. Furthermore, the central district, like all districts, receives a transportation quota amounting to one half the cost of transportation service. The central district is entitled also to one fourth of the cost of the school building, providing the plans for the building have been approved by the Commissioner of Education.¹ The transportation and the building quotas are given only if the expenditures for schools by the district shall exceed a sum equivalent to a five-mill tax on the assessed valuation.

Underlying conceptions. Three are worthy of special mention: (1) It is the evident intention to develop a local unit able to provide a reasonably adequate educational program for those living in rural areas (having less than 4,500 population). (2) Since the plans for the district originate locally and must be approved by the people of the locality, local initiative and decision are stressed. However, since final decision is in the hands of the State, there may be as much or as little guidance as is deemed necessary to protect the interests of the children. This latter provision aids in reducing the number of cases of gerrymandering for the purpose of bringing into the central district those areas with the most wealth where transportation responsibilities would be relatively small. The system of State aid also contributes to this end. (3) The district is planned along lines that

¹ *New York Education Law, 1936*, University of the State of New York Bulletin 1095, pp 180-186a

generally give what may be called a "community," in the sociological sense. The basis for this is implied in the statement in the Law, "conveniently located for the attendance of scholars." Practice in the laying out of central districts generally has been in accord with this conception.²

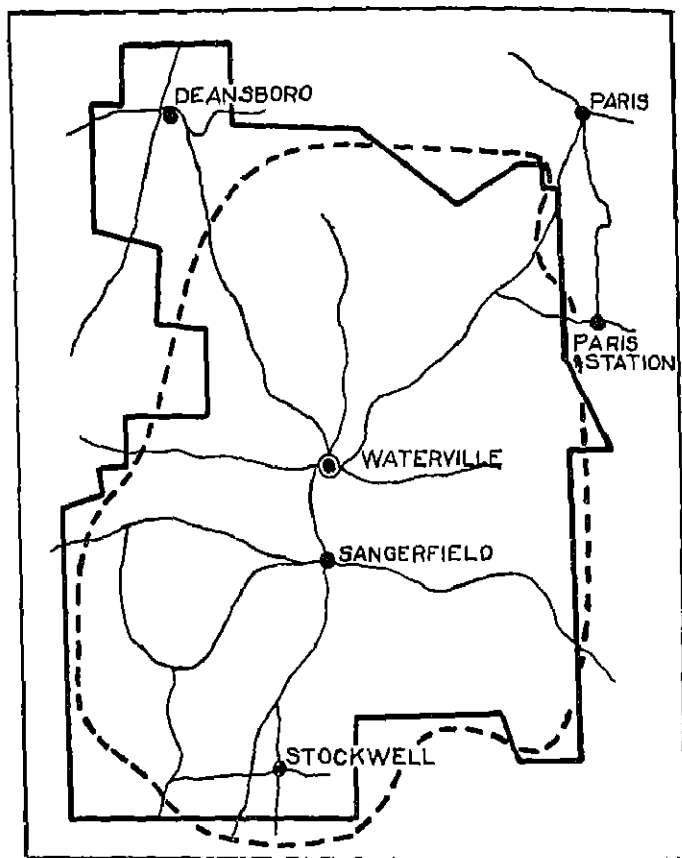
An illustration of the relationship between a sociological area and a central district may be shown through the accompanying skeletal map. It will be noted that there is a close similarity between the sociological area and the central district area, more so probably than would be found in many central districts in the State. This is partly due to the fact that, when the district was originally established in 1928, a similar sociological study had been made. At that time eleven districts were included in the centralization. Since then eight others have been added. These lie largely in the northern and in the southern parts of the district and include territory in the sociological area indicated in the original study.

Development of the district. The Central District Law was first passed in 1914.³ While similar to the present law, it was different in several particulars, especially in the fact that there were no such liberal provisions for State assistance as now exist.

During the years 1919-1922 a comprehensive study was made of rural-school conditions in New York State. The committee in charge (designated as the "Committee of Twenty-One") consisted of representatives from seven organizations within the State: the Grange, the Farm Bureau, the Home Bureau, the Dairymen's League, the State Department of Education, the State Teachers Association, and the State College of Agriculture at Cornell University. The leader of this significant work was Professor George A. Works, then of Cornell University, now of the University of Chicago. Mention is made of this study because of the recommendation

² See *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Education Department, 1926*. Volume 1, p. 62. The Report for 1929 (pp. 40-43) describes the procedures followed in the establishment of a typical central school from the inception of the idea to the completion of the project.

³ *Education Law, 1914*, University of the State of New York Bulletin 579, pp. 180-186.



A skeletal map showing the relationship between the sociological ("village-most-visited") area (dotted line) and the central district (continuous line), Waterville, As of 1933⁴

⁴From W. G. Mather, Jr., T. H. Townsend, and Dwight Sanderson, *A Study of Rural Community Development in Waterville, N. Y.*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 608 (June 1934). The present writer assumes that the reader is familiar with the concept of the rural community and with the customary techniques for determining its boundaries. Those seeking information along this line are referred to the pioneer study by C. J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community* (University of Wisconsin Research Bulletin 34) or to one of several published at Cornell University, for example, Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York* (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 614).

that the basic school district in the rural area be a community district laid out along sociological lines.⁵ After an extensive campaign of education among the rural people of the State, probably the most extensive that has taken place in New York since the discussion leading to the passage of the free school act in 1867, the proposals for the establishment of the community district were defeated in the legislature. However, sufficient interest was aroused that it became possible to vitalize the 1914 Central District Law through new State-aid provisions. These provisions came about not only because of the study just mentioned but because of a study of State aid that had taken place during the years 1923-1925.⁶

While it is believed that the study and discussion carried on during the period 1919-1925 had created an unusual interest in the problem of improving rural education, one must admit that in all probability it is the State aid that has been most effective in bringing about the creation of two hundred and sixty-nine central school districts.

Information regarding these districts is given in the accompanying table. It will be noticed that there has been an acceleration in the rate of centralization, sixty-five taking place during the first five years; eighty-three during the second five years, and one hundred and twenty during the last five years. No centralizations were formed during the academic year 1939-1940 because of a moratorium that had been decreed by the legislature. This moratorium has now been removed. It will also be noticed from this table that there has been a tendency for the average size of the district to increase as indicated both by the number of original districts included in the centralization and the area in square miles. For example, in 1924-1925 an average of 3.6 original districts went into each centraliza-

⁵ G. A. Works and others, *Rural School Survey of New York State*. Volume I, pp. 208-211. The entire survey appears in ten volumes published in 1922.

⁶ Paul R. Mort and others, *State Aid for the Public Schools in the State of New York*. Albany: Special Joint Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment of the Legislature of the State of New York, 1925.

tion; in 1930-1931, this had risen to 12.6; in 1938-1939, to 16.1. In the formation of these centralizations, a total of 3,495 districts has been included. The total number of districts in the State has, therefore, been reduced through centralization during these years by 3,126.

DATA REGARDING CENTRAL RURAL-SCHOOL DISTRICTS,
1924-1925 TO 1938-1939⁷

Year	Number of Central Districts Formed	Number of Original Districts Included	Average Number of Original Districts Included	Total Number of Original Districts Included	Average Valuation (Millions)	Average Area (Sq. miles)	Number of Average Pupils
1924-25	3	11	3.6	11	2.2	26.3	335
1925-26	20	91	4.5	102	1.8	63.4	235
1926-27	12	79	6.5	183	1.4	40.0	217
1927-28	13	67	5.1	253	.6	56.2	193
1928-29	17	136	8.0	398	1.6	42.5	298
1929-30	20	169	8.4	583	1.7	40.2	545
1930-31	52*	659	12.6	1,285	1.7	64.5	422
1931-32	3	41	13.6	1,344	1.9	55.0	481
1932-33	2	24	12.0	1,374	2.1	53.5	400
1933-34	6	81	13.3	1,462	2.4	93.5	379
1934-35	11	143	13.0	1,622	2.9	47.6	490
1935-36	24	339	14.2	1,982	1.8	55.9	524
1936-37	15	261	17.4	2,282	3.2	78.4	633
1937-38	27	420	15.5	2,758	2.7	69.6	530
1938-39	43	692	16.1	3,495	3.0	68.6	599

* Youngsville was formed before the Central School Law was amended, received State aid for the first time January 1931. It does not appear as one of the central districts organized at that time.

What has been achieved? It is evident that there has been a simplification of local administrative machinery so that a situation favorable for the improvement of the educational program has been created. Unfortunately, there appears to be no specific data showing exactly what has happened to the program due to centralization. It would not be fair to attribute all improvement to the process of centralization because during these fifteen years there has been an

⁷ Prepared by Francis G. Griffin of the State Education Department

extension of the educational program in all areas. However, one familiar with what has taken place in this State could make certain generalizations with a fair degree of confidence. By law, agriculture is to be taught in all central rural-school districts. Home economics is taught in practically all of them. Music, drawing, and industrial arts are found less frequently but probably in the great majority of the schools. One cannot help being impressed by the degree to which instruction in music through voluntary organizations, such as glee clubs, bands, orchestras, and so on, has taken place. Health programs have been given much consideration: many of these districts have employed a school nurse; some have established dental clinics. Adult education has been stimulated but not to the degree that one might expect or hope. One study⁸ gives data along this line for a limited number (15) of the central schools. Ten reported adult activities in dramatics; 5 in dinners and banquets; 8 in dances; 7 in athletic activities; 5 in music; 4 in films; 1 in minstrel shows; and 1 in community Christmas. This same study shows assemblages for other than entertainment as follows: lectures 4; study group 1; educational films and slides 1; music study and appreciation 2; such miscellaneous activities as garden clubs, farm bureaus, political rallies, historical societies, and so on, 5. Two schools of the 15 reported a gross attendance at adult functions during the school year 1935-1936 as 30,000 or above. The majority, however, showed a gross attendance of between 3,000 and 4,000.

An intangible factor that must not be overlooked is the evidence of pride that the people in these communities take in their new school. The writer has visited many of the school board meetings held annually in this State and has been impressed with the quality of the board member, one cannot help feeling that these communities have chosen the more alert and able members for their boards of education.

⁸ Eugene T. Stromberg, *The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 699 (June 1938)

Some problems. Many who have seen the benefits of centralization have been desirous of extending these benefits to the approximately two thirds of the rural areas of the State not yet centralized. How may this be done? First, it is possible, of course, to complete the task through voluntary centralization. Based upon the number of districts established during the last fifteen years, one might think that it would take approximately thirty more years in which to complete this task. However, as has been noted, the rate of centralization has constantly accelerated so that, in all probability, the time required would be less than that just indicated; how much less would depend upon such factors as the financial ability of the State, the demands made upon the school, the quality of the educational leadership, and the like. A second procedure would be to require by law that the remaining areas be centralized. A bill to this effect was introduced into the legislature two years ago but did not get out of committee, due largely, according to popular belief, to the opposition of leading rural organizations. This does not mean that the leaders in those organizations are not in favor of centralization, but rather to the fact that the proposal was put forth without a preliminary education of the rural people. It would now appear that if a bill compelling centralization is finally passed, this will not be until a larger share of the State has actually been centralized by voluntary procedures. A third solution seems more sensible and more likely of adoption. This would provide for a State-wide survey that would lay out all rural areas into proposed centralizations. With these proposals before the people in the various localities, it would be possible to discuss concretely the actual effects of a policy of centralization. A bill to this effect has been introduced into the legislature but has not yet been accepted.

Another problem relates to the financing of these districts. It is evident that the State has been liberal with the central districts. To many of us this can be justified on the grounds that it is necessary if the rural areas are to develop an educational program even approxi-

mately comparable to the educational opportunities given city children. Some favor a liberal policy but think that the State has been too generous. There appears to be no readily available data regarding the percentage of the current expenditures of central districts paid by the State. However, in 1937-1938 the average percentage of total receipts contributed by the State was approximately seventy-one per cent.⁹ This percentage represents receipts for all purposes, including debt service and capital outlay. In that year the highest percentage in any central district paid by the State was 91.2; the lowest, 21.6. Particular criticism has been leveled against the building quota, the claim being made that building provisions have been too elaborate. Opinion may well differ on this but one may suspect that the judgment of future generations will be determined largely by what happens in the economic development of this State during the next fifty years. If wealth increases, the citizen of a generation hence may well speak with pride of the farsightedness of his predecessors who planned this educational unit. However, should economic conditions become difficult, there will undoubtedly be severe criticism. The present writer would venture the judgment that, while some districts have planned buildings that have stressed costly, aesthetic features, most communities have not been sufficiently farsighted in planning for the housing of school-community activities that at present seem inevitable in an educational program meeting adequately the needs of rural communities.¹⁰

There has been some criticism on the part of school people because of what they consider an overemphasis of the sociological concept in laying out central school districts. There is no doubt but that some of these districts are so small that the offering of a really effective program is impossible. The belief seems to be growing that, while the sociological factors should not be neglected, it will often

⁹ *Public School Finances*, University of the State of New York Bulletin No. 1181, 1940, pp. 126-142.

¹⁰ A recent volume offers many helpful suggestions along this line. See Engelhardt and Engelhardt, *Planning the Community School* (New York: American Book Company, 1940).

be necessary to throw into one central district two or more sociological communities. The expectation would be that the unifying influence of the school, including a program of transportation, would bring about an ultimate integration of these sociological units into larger community areas.

When should an elementary school be maintained in a hamlet? In the Waterville area illustrated by the map, three other centers are found: one with a population of 100, a second of 30; a third of 230. Upon the theory that no hamlet with a significant community life should be without a school, one may defend the establishment of an elementary school in at least some of these smaller centers. The factors that should govern decisions of this sort need further study.

Perhaps the most significant problem of all is how the school and the community may be brought into more fruitful coöperation. The school should not be thought of as the agency of the community alone; rather, it represents the interests of a larger society, working in and through the local community. Effective educational programs cannot be planned and effective instruction made without a utilization of the resources that exist within the community and a recognition of the lacks that exist therein. To this end type surveys of social and economic communities need to be made for the use of teachers and administrators. Parent-teacher associations, NYA programs, health programs, and land-use committees are illustrations of groups and activities that may have influence in integrating more effectively the school and the community. Each of us needs to enlarge his vision of the opportunities along these lines that the central district provides.

Even with these larger units of local administration, certain types of educational activities, frequently thought to be desirable, commonly cannot be provided. Such, for example, are: a complete health program; a more extensive vocational program, particularly in industrial education; provision for the care of handicapped children; a really effective guidance and attendance service; and an eco-

nomical transportation program. These illustrate certain kinds of activities that may be carried on through the coöperation of a number of central districts. Such coöperation would presumably come through some larger unit of the intermediate type. Its area would depend upon a number of factors not yet clearly envisioned. It would perform the same function that the county does in other States where this unit has significant influence in the administration of the educational program.

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THE INTERACTION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Summary of the discussion at the joint meeting of the Association of Rural Sociologists and the Educational Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society at the annual meeting in Chicago on December 27 and 28, 1940

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES¹

JULIAN E. BUTTERWORTH

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In accepting the invitation of your societies to present for discussion a paper on the interaction of school and community, the writer has understood it to be his function to bring before you a wide range of problems pressing for solution in this field. It is evident, however, that a permanent solution of any one of them can be made only in terms of underlying principles. It has, therefore, appeared essential to set up a conception of action in this field—to establish a sort of framework of principles within which to present and discuss the several specific problems.

The term "principles" is here used not as universally valid truths but rather as "hypotheses with which to experiment."² These principles are the generalizations representing the most defensible basis for conduct in dealing with the several problems. They may be thought of as guides to action that should be modified as conditions change, as new facts are discovered, or as greater insight is developed.

We who work in the fields of sociology and education, where varying personalities and groups interact in widely differing environments, realize the tentative nature of many of our generaliza-

¹ For supporting arguments, see the December 1940 issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY.

² John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1922), p. 239.

tions. Nevertheless, there is an advantage in stating as accurately as possible the generalizations basic to practice in our respective fields.

1. Since education is a continuous process that utilizes all experience, it is essential, if we are to develop an educational program of maximum effectiveness, that we study critically the opportunities and responsibilities not only of the school but of all other significant agencies in the community.

2. Although educational thinkers are not in agreement as to the degree to which a program of public education should be or may be built upon life needs, the trend appears to be distinctly toward an emphasis of activities that will develop the various abilities required for meeting the demonstrable responsibilities of life.

3. The school should not undertake to create directly through instruction a "new social order." It should transmit those knowledges, ideals, attitudes, and habits that appear desirable for meeting life's responsibilities (including an inculcation of those concepts that the community and its larger society hold to be essential), and should develop willingness and ability to appraise with an open mind new proposals for dealing with social and economic problems.

4. In building its curriculum the school should recognize those lacks in the community that create problems in pupil development and adjustment and should employ all types of community resources that can be economically and significantly utilized.

5. If the school is to stimulate the fullest development of the pupil, it cannot confine its experiences to those available in the community. Within the limits of its resources it should go as far afield as the probable life needs of the pupils warrant.

6. The school is not the exclusive agency of the (local) community; rather, it represents that larger society of which the community is a part, working in and with the community and its various constituent individuals and groups.

7. In making effective the conception of the educative process here outlined, certain activities affecting the welfare of citizens (li-

brary, health, and recreation programs, etc.) that have been provided through special agencies in the community (or, in some cases, have not been provided at all) are allocated in whole or in part to the school in order that their contributions to pupil development may be more completely utilized. At the present time it appears to be impossible to indicate in detail the nature of the cooperation that should take place between the school and other agencies in the community. This problem offers, therefore, a real opportunity to use scientific method. to describe more exactly the results desired; to analyze functions of various agencies within the community; and to experiment with different forms of cooperation under varying conditions.

8. It is not clear how far the community as a unit now does or will in the future tend to formulate definite objectives, neither is it clear as to what, precisely, those objectives would be if they were formulated. Whether much or little is done along this line, community needs will be discovered that will call for the constructive effort of various agencies. The community has a right to expect the cooperation of the school in meeting these needs so far as facilities permit, but it should recognize that the school's primary responsibility of providing an effective education for children and young people cannot safely be neglected.

9. The community council appears to be one useful means whereby a community may study itself and its activities, discover its lacks, and seek assistance in overcoming them.

10. Although the principle of the residual functions of the school is sound, there must be continued study of local educational conditions from the point of view of determining what responsibilities should be assumed by the school; what by other agencies; and what should be regarded as of mutual concern.

11. The development of sound interactions between the school and the community requires a continuing program of discussion regarding their respective and mutual needs and opportunities.

12. Desirable school-community relationships may be promoted if the local unit of school control can be so planned as to be coterminous with the sociological community.

DISCUSSION OF BASIC PRINCIPLES

GEORGE A. WORKS

The University of Chicago

By his discussion of the topic, "Interaction of School and Community in a Democratic Society," Dr Butterworth has rendered a distinct service to both sociologists and educators. Especially is this true in the case of those workers whose interests are primarily identified with rural life. His treatment of the subject has brought into relief many of the problems involved, with suggested solutions in some instances, and in others means are pointed out by which approaches to solutions may be made. His final thesis, "Desirable school-community relationships may be promoted if the local school unit of school control can be so planned as to be coterminous with the sociological community," and the last sentence of the paper, "Our two groups should cooperate in attacking the problem," is especially pertinent in view of the dawning realization on the part of some sociologists and some educators that in our enthusiasm for the consolidation of schools in rural areas we have frequently overlooked the importance of regarding the school as an integral part of the community. It appears that conditions are such that much would be gained if a group of rural sociologists and rural educators were to give serious consideration to the implications of this last thesis.

This seems to be the place to point out that apparently Dr Butterworth's discussion at several points implies a dualism of school and community that may obscure our thinking regarding the problems involved unless care is exercised. This dualism is implied in the last sentence of thesis no. 8, "The community has a right to expect the coöperation of the school in meeting these needs so far as facilities

permit, but it should recognize that the school's primary responsibility of providing an effective education for children and young people cannot be safely neglected." In the course of the discussion of this thesis Dr. Butterworth says: "What many persons seem not to realize, however, is that in most schools the staff now has a full-time job and, even though the members may help in the adult program, demands must be kept within reason. In general, we may say that as the school undertakes new services, whether at the request of the community or on its own initiative, there should be adequate increase in facilities whether of plant, personnel, or equipment" Would it not be more to the point to indicate that the activities schools are now handling should be assessed in view of new demands that are arising instead of assuming a place for all of the things they are now doing? Fortunately the school does stand as an apostle of tradition, but I am certain Dr. Butterworth would be one of the first to acknowledge the danger of overemphasis on this aspect. Schools, especially those in rural areas, suffer from over-conservatism.

Finally, I wish to make reference to the importance of a better understanding between the schools and other institutions whose work impinges on the field of education. This would include such agencies as those dealing with welfare, recreation, health, and the extension service of the land-grant colleges. The development of these agencies has been rapid in recent years. Practically all are suffering from growing pains with the result that it has been difficult for them to formulate their own objectives, to say nothing about understanding those of other organizations. This is not an argument for any given administrative formula, only a plea that sufficient time be taken by the workers in the several agencies involved in the educational life of the rural community to sit in conference long enough to get an understanding of the work each is doing. Such an understanding is essential to the development of better working relationships.

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

Furman University

These remarks comprise a series of suggestions for action in the field of school-community relationships in rural America, rather than a contribution to rural sociological theory. The discussion has two purposes: first, to summarize possible types of relationships between school and community as set forth in Dr. Butterworth's paper, using a different classification; second, to indicate ways in which rural sociologists may be concerned in the interaction of school and community.

It is difficult to describe the effect of a whole on one of its parts. Yet for analytical purposes it may be profitable to point out some of the ways in which the community affects the school, as brought out by Dr. Butterworth. In the first place the community culture sets the limits within which the school may function. A community is best viewed as an organic, cultural entity; and the school, functioning as an important element in the community, must be in tune with other phases of the culture. The objectives and methods of the school must not run too violently counter to the local folkways and mores. A more tangible way in which the community affects the school is through financial support, since the local community usually shares the burden of education with the State.

The nature of the community is coming to be more and more important in determining the curriculum of the school. Recent curriculum revision efforts for the most part have been posited on the hypothesis that many activities of the school should be built on the needs of the community. A community survey is held to be essential before the optimum curriculum can be constructed. For example, the health needs of the community should be utilized in planning health education for the children. Conditions of employment in the community should influence the vocational guidance and training afforded by the school. On this matter of community needs

termining the curriculum of the school, however, Dr. Butterworth's warning that the school cannot confine its experiences to those available in the community is well given. There may be real danger in overemphasizing the local community in the education of the child. This would be especially true in regions such as the southern Appalachians, the cotton belt, or the Lake States cut-over area which annually export a sizable proportion of their youth and young adults to other regions.

Next, there should be certain relationships between the community and teaching methods in the school. One aspect of this consists largely in the proper use of community resources by the teacher. Pupil interest in community situations may be useful in stimulating interest in a particular subject field, or community facts may be used as subject matter in and of themselves. The community affords innumerable opportunities for field trips, demonstration projects, and the like. Furthermore, it is generally accepted that good pedagogy presupposes familiarity by the teacher with the cultural milieu from which the pupils come.

To this point, our summary of Dr. Butterworth's points has indicated that the community limits, both culturally and financially, the functioning of the school; that the community should serve as a weather vane indicating the direction of the school's activities; and, finally, that the community can serve as a valuable resource in teaching. Dr. Butterworth further indicates ways in which the school may be affecting the community.

Obviously, one such relationship exists in the fact that the school is educating children, many of whom will be future citizens of the community. But the school is often no longer satisfied to restrict its activities to working with children but is feeling responsibility for adult education. This may be general or cultural; or it may be practical education in the field of agriculture, shopwork, or home economics, or it may be merely providing opportunity for discussion of vital issues.

This last type of adult education often leads to community improvement efforts, perhaps through a community council. Because of its importance as a community institution, the school should play a significant part in community development. School administrators and teachers are important community leaders, actual or potential. Dr. Butterworth hints that, if the school takes a major role in community development, there is danger of effective education for children and young people being neglected. In an experience in rural community organization in a southern county, just the reverse has resulted when the school has taken the lead in the formation of a council.¹ In several rural communities the school curriculum has been revised, teaching methods have been revolutionized, and pupil interest has been increased measurably through the promotion by the school of local community development. It is the opinion of the writer that such activity by the school offers much more possibility for improvement than neglect of pupil education.

Another effect of school upon community which might have merited Dr. Butterworth's attention has to do with what school consolidation has done to the rural neighborhood, still thought by some to have a significant place in rural society because of its primary group nature. Indications are that a fairly general result has been a hastening of the breakdown of the rural neighborhood as a cultural entity.

A final type of relationship discussed by Dr. Butterworth is the reciprocal one between the school and all other institutions and agencies in the community. All phases of community life are participating together in the educational program, each influencing the other. Where should the programs merge? Where do responsibilities reside? The conclusion that the function of the school is a residual one may be open to theoretical debate, but for all prac-

¹ Reference is made to the work of the Greenville (S. C.) County Council for Community Development.

tical purposes it serves as a useful guide in working out concrete situations.

In concluding this discussion, implications for rural sociology of school-community relationships will be noted. The work of rural sociologists is sometimes discussed in three divisions: teaching, research, and extension. In the first of these fields, teaching, the function of rural sociology in the preparation of teachers for schools in rural communities is clear. Prospective teachers should understand the basic characteristics of rural life and culture and how these characteristics differ from those of urban society. Furthermore, courses in rural sociology should enable these prospective teachers to understand the nature of the rural community as well as the field of rural community organization. At Furman University we have found that school administrators and teachers, after doing graduate study in these and related fields, return to their rural schools often to become outstanding leaders in community development. The challenge to the teacher of rural sociology, on the undergraduate as well as the graduate level, is evident.

From the field of research, several possible contributions of rural sociologists are worthy of mention. Demonstration research studies may be helpful in clarifying school-community relationships. A recent example is H. L. Fulmer's *An Analytical Study of a Rural School Area*.⁷ However, it is not expected that such a comprehensive study could or should be made for even a small proportion of rural-school situations. In all communities, however, there is probably a place for a modified form of fact finding. Rural sociologists are in a position to train prospective teachers and school administrators in research methods so that they will be in a position better to assist local groups in fact finding. The plea is made here for fact finding by local citizens, with direction by the expert, rather than highly complicated surveys by outsiders. The point is that the former is more productive of democratic social action. There is need for a simple manual on techniques of fact finding in rural communities.

Finally, the extension rural sociologist is on the firing line, so to speak. He must be working constantly with school-community relationships, endeavoring to aid rural-community institutions and agencies in working out their relationship to the school and perhaps seeking to assist the school in deciding what gaps it should attempt to fill in the life of the community. The latter is feasible only when the school welcomes such guidance. If one may risk a generalization, it is ventured that rural-sociology extension recognizes the many and varied residual functions of the school in a community more often than do school administrators.

Rural sociologists should keep abreast of the rapidly changing ideas in rural education and stand ready to assist wherever possible. Educators, on the other hand, should recognize and utilize the potential contributions of rural sociology to their field.

MARION D. SMITH

Louisiana State University

Dr. Butterworth refers in his first principle to "an educational program of maximum effectiveness." In other places in his paper he refers to "a really effective program" and "an effective education." The question arises as to just what is the criteria of an effective program. Has there been any agreement as to what constitutes an effective education? According to a great portion of the public-school patrons the effectiveness of the educational program is measured by the increase in the economic earnings of those who attend and those who complete the school program. The function of the school, according to that point of view, is to prepare the students so that they can make more money than their parents did or do.

Another point of view is implied in Conrad Taeuber's article in the December issue of *Rural Sociology*. According to his implications, the effectiveness of a rural-school program is indicated by the extent of migration of the youth from their communities. Communities which are able to provide "superior facilities" stimulate migra-

tion away from the areas; whereas in communities with "meager educational facilities" there is relatively little migration.

A third criterion which is pointed to by certain socioeducational leaders is that the "effectiveness of the educational program" should be considered in terms of improvement of life within a community—better health conditions, less illiteracy, more adequate recreational facilities available to the children and youth, closer and more harmonious relationship between the open-country and the village populations, and many more.

The difficulty in reaching a point of agreement in establishing criteria of "effective education" comes through the disagreement as to the primary function of the schools. Is it to develop the individual or to serve to improve society and the community? Obviously the development of the individual may not be synonymous with improvement of the community. If the school is to serve to train the natural leaders of a community to feel that making a success in life means that they must go to other parts of the country—the great cities—it is then actually weakening rather than benefiting the community which supports it.

An effective educational program, it seems, must be considered in terms of both individual and community development. The individual can and should be trained so that he will be a great source of strength and benefit to the community. If a distinction is to be made between individual and community development in that one must be regarded as more fundamental than the other, the school as the agent of the community must place the welfare of that social body ahead of the training of the child for individual achievement.

Dr. Butterworth states that the school "should recognize those lacks in the community that create problems in pupil development and adjustment and should employ all types of community resources that can be economically and significantly utilized." He further states, "although the principle of the residual functions of the school is sound, there must be continued study of local educational conditions from the point of view determining what respon-

sibilities should be assumed by the school; what by other agencies; and what should be regarded as of mutual concern." Accepting the validity of the above statements raises the question of who shall analyze the communities to determine their lacks and educational resources? Who is to determine the residual functions belonging to the schools in the different communities? The principle of residual functions implies study of the communities to see what necessary activities are adequately provided by other institutions, such as the homes, the churches, the local governments, and the like, and what is required of the schools.

Shall independent sociologists be employed to make the community surveys? Will teachers know how to use the results of community studies after they are made? Can teachers themselves be expected to make community observations of sufficient merit to meet the needs of the communities and the schools? If one examines the usual rural school in America he will note little regard for the communities and their needs. Such community consciousness would be evidenced by an educational program planned around the life activities of the particular children attending the institutions. Such a program is seldom found. Teachers obviously have not regarded the functions of the schools as residual.

Certainly the educational leadership must be provided by the teachers and educational administrators. That statement brings up another problem insofar as rural schools are concerned, at least, which goes beyond the bounds of the rural communities to the teacher-training institutions. Teachers must be trained to recognize that education is for life in the community or in some community. Teachers must be trained so that they can analyze community needs and resources. The great problem in community analysis, it seems, is to reorganize our teacher-training courses for rural schools.

In closing, Dr. Butterworth raises the question: "Should the school program be planned for the sociological community (in contrast to the neighborhood) even though the services thereby provided are inadequate; or should a reasonably comprehensive

program on the twelve-grade level be established for some fairly homogeneous area, often including more than a single sociological community, with the probable result of developing a new community within the service area of the school?" Why must the school program planned for a sociological community or even for two or more such area groups be in contrast to that planned for the neighborhood? Why may neighborhood schools not be supplementary to a community system? If neighborhood schools are retained for the young children through at least the third grade, they serve as centers of neighborhood interest as well as institutions for preparing primary children for the upper elementary grades and high school. The neighborhood schools for the very young children have the advantages of having small groups of children of approximately the same age levels being trained in the familiar environment of their neighborhood near their parents and homes. Neighborhood schools for young children are not in opposition to the consolidated units for older children in any sense. Such primary schools serve as preparatory institutions for the larger institutions wherein the needs are different. Because a large supporting area is required for a State university one does not hear suggestions that all high schools should be consolidated into one institution centrally located in the State. Because a large supporting area is required for the upper elementary grades and a still larger area is often desirable for high schools, it does not follow that similar area and similarly large groups of children are required for the primary grades. Let us keep our neighborhood schools as social centers and as institutions to train our very young children in a familiar and congenial environment.

SUMMARY OF GENERAL DISCUSSION

FRANCIS J. BROWN
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It is apparent that there is complete agreement among all discussants, both on the panel and from the floor, on four general state-

ments: (1) While the rural community, more than the urban, has retained cultural autonomy, it is not self-sufficient, and is increasingly influenced by economic and cultural forces of the State and the nation. (2) The school has failed adequately to meet the needs of the rural community. (3) There should be an organic relationship between the school and the other agencies in the community. (4) There is need for a careful sociological survey of the local community as a basis for a continuous evaluation of the educational program. There is some disagreement as to whether this survey should be conducted by "experts" or should be an informal self-analysis

The points of disagreement are only partially a matter of the degree to which the principle is acceptable but for many they represent basic differences in point of view.

On the one hand are those who assert that the school should *directly reflect the interests and life of the local community*; on the other are those who believe that the school program should bear very little relationship to its locale; in fact, the effectiveness of education is in direct proportion to the number who *leave* the community.

Again, some have said that the schools should continually expand their activities until they comprehend the total welfare of the child; others have with equal vigor defended the position that the school should assume only residual functions—those needs of the child not adequately met through other community agencies, and its function is one only of referring such needs to appropriate agencies.

And, finally, there are those who believe that the school should exert courageous leadership in the organization of community life through creating community councils under the direct aegis of school authorities; but there are also those who believe that the school should recognize that its prime function is and should remain the inculcation of the cultural heritage and the development of essential skills.

Insofar as these differences represent basic disagreement in edu-

cational philosophy, they cannot be resolved. Rather than concluding this discussion on a note of disparity may I say in all candor and sincerity that the prime curse of American education today is the dominance of our "either-or" attitude toward educational issues.

It is not should the school reflect the interests and life of the local community or meet the life needs of its pupils, but it must do both. It must constantly seek to discover basic knowledges, skills, and attitudes that function both in the local community and in the larger community of society.

Again substituting "and" for "either-or" the school should continue to carry on effectively the formal education of the child which is its primary function *and* it should assume such other responsibilities as will ensure mental attitudes and physical health conducive to such education. The school should resist excessive expansion of function resulting from sincere but overzealous enthusiasm.

The third point of difference may likewise be minimized if we will but recognize that the responsibility of the school is to serve both the child and the community, to supplement and coordinate community agencies, not to supplant and compete.

Perhaps it may be well to turn again to the example of the Great Teacher who, when troubled about many controversial issues put to him by his questioners, picked up a little child and "set the child in the midst."

AN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

W. B. JONES, JR.

The last decade has witnessed an increased interest in the unfortunate, maladjusted children known as "juvenile delinquents." Specialized courses on this subject are finding their way into the social-science curricula. Textbooks are being written for these courses. National organizations like the American Legion, the Parent-Teacher's Association, and the League of Women Voters, to mention a few, have made this topic an item of special study and emphasis through their child-welfare groups. State departments of public welfare are now recognizing the significance of this problem and are becoming more concerned about the administration and operation of the juvenile courts as well as the correctional institutions or training schools. Local groups are indicating their interest in institutes on juvenile delinquency, crime-prevention programs, recreational programs, and a closer examination of their juvenile courts and detention houses. Much significant research and social experimentation has been undertaken and recorded, making available an increasing body of scientifically determined knowledge.

Among the many important problems related to the harnessing of this interest and the application of this knowledge to the benefit of the child offender there is one which stands out among all others. It is an educational problem, in that it concerns the transmission to the public of the philosophy underlying the basic concepts of causation and treatment of delinquency. Undoubtedly, many of the lags in this field, which are apparent to any student of delinquency, are due to the fact that the philosophy underlying the treatment of juvenile offenders, as well as the structure which has been set up to implement this philosophy, represents a movement from the top down, instead of a movement from the bottom up. Unlike the movement of organized labor, which is an example of the latter, the

movement for a differential treatment of juvenile offenders has made its way slowly by vertical diffusion from the top.

The present method of the treatment of juvenile offenders in the United States consists first of a body of legislation which provides for the establishment and use of the method of treatment for juvenile offenders and second for the establishment and functioning of various practices and procedures by which this treatment is effected. There are in the United States today numerous procedures and practices for dealing with children who do not behave according to the socially accepted norms of conduct. These procedures and practices are clustered about two main public agencies, namely, the juvenile courts and the juvenile correctional or training schools. Within the last forty years there has developed in each State a body of practices which constitute a public system for the treatment of juvenile offenders.

To casual observers, the mere presence of juvenile-court laws on the statute books of most of the States, the number of juvenile courts, probation officers, detention facilities, and correctional institutions are sufficient evidence of the expression of the newer conception of the nature of antisocial behavior of children.

To more careful observers, however, the mere presence of such traits is not sufficient. Such observers note that the various procedures and practices are all directed toward the same end, the social adjustment of the juvenile offender. Because of this the practices are closely related to each other. The juvenile court has certain responsibilities toward the delinquent child; likewise, the correctional schools have certain responsibilities toward the same child. The various practices are all a part of the same system, and, theoretically at least, work together to achieve a common purpose.

Underlying the numerous statutes and more numerous and varied practices and procedures indicated above is an underlying philosophy which for all practical purposes is in the main unknown, ignored, or not accepted by the public and in a large measure by the

officials and personnel of the courts and training schools. This philosophy differs radically from the philosophy underlying the treatment of the adult offender. It does not hold the juvenile offender morally responsible for his behavior, but recognizes that a child's behavior is a response to the various factors and experiences in his social environment over which he has no control. It also includes the belief that a normal child may make many adjustments to society, the particular adjustment made depending upon the way the child is trained or directed. Hence punishment has no place in the treatment of delinquent children, since the child does not willfully violate the social code. Punishment is replaced by training, guidance, and a favorable environment which will permit socially accepted responses. This is the basis for the extension of the principle of *parens patrie* to delinquent children. The present philosophy holds that the behavior of juvenile offenders can be scientifically studied, and upon the basis of sociological, psychiatric, psychological, and medical data such behavior may be understood, explained, and controlled.

This philosophy places the primary emphasis upon the offender, in discovering the motives and reasons for the offender's antisocial behavior, the methods that may control it and the ways of guiding it. According to social jurisprudence the law would be framed and treatment prescribed upon the basis of understanding the causes of behavior and a wide latitude given the judge in prescribing procedures that would reform behavior. Such actually is the case in juvenile procedure. The law is not regarded, theoretically at least, as a separate and preeminent science, but sociology, psychology, psychiatry, and medicine take a place equally as important alongside the law in the treatment of juvenile offenders. Law, like the family, education, and religion, is regarded as a living social institution which should keep pace with cultural change and thus incorporate and utilize science, but sociology, psychology, psychiatry, and medicine take a place equally as important alongside the

law in the treatment of juvenile offenders. Moreover, this philosophy implies a new consideration toward law itself. Law should keep pace with cultural change and thus incorporate and utilize the ideas, methods, and morals developed within the culture.

Inherent in this philosophy is the recognition of the fact that the child grows and develops in a society where the multitude of personal and impersonal factors and situations in which he finds himself leave their mark and influence. Each succeeding social experience and social situation is registered in the life and personality of the child. Moreover, the child is helpless to select or control the factors, experiences, or situations which impinge upon him. "Freedom of the will" and "moral responsibility" are for the adult, if not for the child, for the child has not and cannot control the influences that have molded his personality. The constellation of physical and social characteristics, social habits, and social attitudes which make him a person are not of his choice and selection. Many determining physical characteristics are inherited, and all his social characteristics are acquired through social relationships over which he has had little if any control.

The public system for the treatment of the juvenile offender has developed in response to this ideology. The laws establishing the courts and institutions and the procedures and practices which are developed by these agencies are presumed to be for the purpose of achieving the goal of this philosophy. Throughout the various parts of the public system there is a consensus of approach which implies a continuous, unbroken expression of the basic idea of the modern philosophy and treatment, namely, the rehabilitation of maladjusted children by the development of an individual treatment program designed to produce socially accepted behavior.

This presumption does not stand, however, when the body of legislation pertaining to juvenile delinquency, the physical structure, and the various practices and procedures designed to implement the legislation are critically examined.

An integrated system, in the sociological sense, as a method and quality of functioning is conspicuous by its absence. The careful observer cannot find a continuous, unbroken expression and execution of the philosophy throughout the entire procedure, beginning with the child's appearance in court and his release from the supervision of the court or from the correctional institution and his return to the community. *Instead, there is evident a striking absence of common approach, of continuous purposeful meaning to the various differentiated practices of the courts, training schools, and communities, as the latter attempt to deal with the larger aspects of the present-day problems of juvenile delinquency.*

The standard public system found in most States represents a process of cultural accumulation, the various parts imperfectly adjusted or related to each other so that activity of a sort is possible, but not activity which expresses in any appreciable degree the underlying philosophy or which achieves the goal of the philosophy

The deplorable state of ineffectiveness and failure which characterizes our present-day practices and procedures is due primarily to the lack of knowledge, inability, or the failure of the public and the functionnaires in the courts and training schools to comprehend the basic ideas underlying the modern juvenile-delinquency program. Public thinking is primarily and almost wholly emotional on this subject, and outside of a few enlightened courts and training schools there is a woeful and tragic ignorance and absence of scientific diagnosis and treatment. This is even more true in rural areas than in the cities

This will involve a tremendous educational effort. Formal education may help some, through the social-science and education courses in the colleges and universities, but in the main, the task is one of adult education and can be accomplished only through the media of formal and informal education.

Dr W B Jones, Jr, is assistant professor of sociology, University of Tennessee. He has supervised many surveys dealing with juvenile delinquency and the treatment of both juvenile and adult offenders

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send in at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

A STUDY OF THE FAMILY AND FAMILY LIFE IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

A. A. Rogers of the University of Virginia is undertaking a study whose object is primarily to investigate the Virginia family of the colonial period. The study itself has grown out of Mr. Rogers's long interest in the colonial family and the realization that there is no comprehensive work on Virginia family life.

It is intended that the account of this research when published will be comprehensive in the sense that it will depict at least what was typical in the various phases of family life. While several methods of approach have been contemplated, chief consideration is to be given to the family institution in the light of its historical and sociological development. Evidence has been established that marriage and the family were stable institutions, and among the conclusions early arrived at is one to the effect that the unity and self-sufficiency of family life in colonial Virginia promoted closer family relationships as well as extensive hospitality and the like.

Thus far in the research, available contemporary accounts have been found rather full in regard to certain phases in which the family and community regulated individual actions, and disappointingly scant concerning other phases of family relations. Nevertheless, it is believed that the study will prove of value and it is hoped that it will in general stimulate further interest in the American family and in particular serve as a base for the study of Virginia family life.

Mr. Rogers would greatly appreciate the coöperation of readers of THE JOURNAL who have data or suggestions and who will be kind enough to communicate with him at Box 1041, University Station, Charlottesville, Virginia. Data of especial value would include diaries, journals, letters, and the like, which show clearly the daily life of individuals and families. So much of the usually available data pertaining to colonial life rarely include this sort of thing. Mr. Rogers seeks information about human

beings in and around the home and everyday relationships as over against the common distortion resulting from stressing that which has news value as over against that which is usual, everyday experience

The difficulty of obtaining an accurate and detailed picture of the family especially among classes none too literate suggests among other things the varied data needed in order to get a comprehensive view of colonial family life. Throughout the present study an attempt will be made to tie up the family with the changing social situation. Here to be sure data are needed to furnish an intimate insight into family relationships as well as to give an accurate discussion of family occurrences in which family life is shown realistically

Briefly, the primal need is for data that will show family life as it was actually lived in families of all classes; otherwise it will be hard and perhaps impossible to make a distinction between the more formal verbalized mores and the actual working mores of Virginia families

WHITE PLAINS SURVEY OF YOUTH NEEDS

Under the general supervision of the Westchester County Children's Association, the White Plains Youth Advisory Council is sponsoring a community survey of youth needs in the City of White Plains, New York. The project was initiated at a dinner meeting in December which was attended by individuals and representatives of all interested agencies in the community. The survey is under the supervision of Brainard H. Woodward, teacher of economics at the White Plains High School, and the gathering of the data will be done by one of the high-school classes at the beginning of the second term.

The initial proposal that such a survey be made came from the White Plains Youth Advisory Council, representing a cross section of individuals and agency representatives concerned with youth problems. It is felt that to participate in such a fact-finding survey with regard to their own community will be an extremely useful and instructive experience for the young people themselves. The Council is interested not alone in having published data at the end of the year, but in the possibility of bringing information about current problems confronting youth in White Plains back to the Council for discussion and action as it is gathered. In making this a "working survey," the Council is arranging for committee participation of members interested in the special fields covered by the survey, such as school, employment, leisure-time activities, delinquency, etc.

GRANT FOR MOTION-PICTURE RESEARCH TO INDIANA UNIVERSITY

An initial grant of \$1,000 has been made by Coronet Productions, Inc., to Indiana University for educational motion-picture research. Coronet Productions have offices in Chicago and a production studio at Glenview, Illinois. The results of the research will be used by Coronet as a basis for planning and producing educational motion pictures for classroom use.

The research will be supervised by staff members of Indiana University, and its purpose under the terms of the Coronet grant is to analyze the curriculum content of grades 1-12 in order to determine those topics for which motion pictures may provide a more adequate experiential background for classroom instruction. The project is to be administered by a committee composed of Dean H. L. Smith, of the University's School of Education; Professor R. E. Cavanaugh, director of the Extension Division; Mr. L. C. Larson of the Bureau of Audio-Visual Aids and the School of Education; and two additional members of the School of Education faculty, selected by the original committee of three. The two other members of the committee are Professors Carl G. F. Fianzen and Velorus Martz.

University professors will begin work immediately on four studies recommended by the local committee and accepted by Coronet Productions for providing information which their company must possess in order to develop plans for a systematic program of educational film production. Professor W. W. Wright will supervise an elementary-grade study designed to identify topics included in grades 1-6 which may be presented successfully by educational motion pictures. A project in the social-studies area for the purpose of ascertaining which social-science situations are taught most often in grades 7-12 inclusive will be directed by Professor I. O. Foster. Professor Melvin S. Lewis and Mr. John H. Dillon will supervise a study in which it is planned to determine the basic understandings and skills that are considered most important in the field of business education. Dr. Karl Bookwalter will supervise a study designed to identify, within the areas of group games, folk dancing, and fundamental rhythms, the activities which are most frequently used in each grade of the elementary and secondary schools.

James A. Larsen, vice-president of Coronet Productions, and David A. Smart, president of Coronet Productions and publisher of *Esquire* and *Coronet* magazines, were responsible for these arrangements with Indiana University, through the Bureau of Audio-Visual Aids in the Extension Division.

BOOK REVIEWS

Population, A Problem for Democracy, by GUNNAR MYRDAL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940, xiii + 237 pages.

The Gotkin Foundation lectures on the general theme "The Essentials of Free Government and the Duties of the Citizen" comprise the text of this very significant little volume.

The author does not present statistical data nor devote any considerable portion of his attention to population theories. Instead, his entire thesis is based upon the premise that differential costs of having children should be spread out among the citizens in conformity with their ability to pay. He emphasizes the fact that the decline of population in Europe and the acceptance of a constructive social and economic policy has preceded by two decades similar developments in America. Consequently, he believes it is possible for America to profit from the experiences of Europe and arrest the present decline in population before it becomes the serious problem that it was—and is—abroad.

The "laboratory" used for such "lessons" to America is Sweden which, the author believes, has made significant progress in solving this problem. He recognizes, however, that mere legislation will not be sufficient. A democratic country resists the introduction of the positive policy of dictator countries. Also, the right of women to maintain employment and of every individual to direct his own affairs still further increases opposition, such opposition taking on the added weight of a moral issue.

Despite these difficulties, the author believes that "truthful information and education" can pave the way for constructive, democratic action.

Adventuring for Democracy, by WILBUR C. PHILLIPS. New York. Social Unit Press, 1940, xvi + 380 pages.

This is an interesting biography of an "idea"—the Social Unit Plan. In brief, it is the organization of the health and social services of a community under the direction of two coordinated groups, one representing the consumer, the other the producers of both services and material goods. The block of one hundred families is the basic unit of organization.

The plan has been utilized in Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and New York. It goes a step beyond the usual activities of the community council in that it seeks not only to coordinate the activities of other agencies within the district but to establish close personal relationship with every family in

the district, through the block workers. The author believes that such a plan provides the means for carrying the principles of democracy into practice through effective participation in the betterment of social welfare.

Race, Sex and Environment, by J. R. DE LA H. MARETT. New York: Chemical Publishing Company, 1940, 342 pages.

The book is exceedingly important to sociologists since it is an attempt to explain all social phenomena upon the basis of "... mineral deficiencies of the soil and the resulting vegetable matter" (page 7). The solving of sociological problems, such as country and town, leadership, classes, war, polyandry, and population movements, is accomplished by the overemphasis upon Sir Arthur Keith's work in biochemistry. In addition to this Marett uses unilinear evolution, early Freudian psychology, plus new and outmoded ideas, and authors, upon the basis of "... a moderately protracted period of thinking ..." (page 7).

The overstressing of biochemistry by Marett invalidates much of his presentation. However, it does not negate the place of biochemistry in a total analysis of society.

Saltykov and the Russian Squire, by NIKANDER STRELSKY New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, 176 pages.

Saltykov-Schedrin occupies a high place among the great Russian writers of the nineteenth century. A writer of varied gifts, he won his highest distinction as a satirist. He is not only the most brilliant satirist in Russian letters but one of the outstanding satirists of all time. Turgenev justly classed him with Juvenal and Jonathan Swift. Living in the age of the Great Reforms, Saltykov with the scalpel of his satire boldly laid bare the stupidity, hypocrisy, cupidity, and vulgarity of his Russian contemporaries. It is a curious fact that while both Marx and Engels read and admired his works, Saltykov was immune to the spell of Marxist writings. He was not a revolutionist. His panacea for the ills of Russian society was spiritual regeneration. During the period from 1860 to 1880 his social ideas probably had a greater influence than those of Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, or even Tolstoy. Unlike these men, however, he has remained virtually unknown outside Russia. Professor Strelsky's book is the first longer critical study in English of his writings. As the central theme he has chosen Saltykov's portrayal of the Russian landowner, the subject on which the satirist expended the major force of his talents. Mr. Strelsky

is to be commended for sound scholarship, lucidity of expression, and sprightliness of style. His book is a noteworthy contribution toward making a great satirist and his age better known in the English-speaking world.

Child Welfare in Germany Before and After Nazism, by WALTER FRIEDLANDER and EARL D. MYERS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940, xii + 273 pages.

The authors have compiled and clearly described the history of child-welfare agencies in Germany from their earliest beginnings in the seventeenth century to the present time. Major emphasis is given to the contrast between the period of the enactment of the Child Welfare Law of 1922 under the Weimar Constitution and the orders decreed since 1933 under Hitler

The new legislation to provide for greater fecundity of families and the present tendency to suppress private—and all religious—welfare agencies are presented in detail. The authors stress the fact that while from the point of view of legislation and administration there has been little change, there has been a profound change in the spirit of educational and social work "In legal authority, the leading principle of the child's right to be educated according to his ability has been converted to the right of the state to form every youth into a trained follower of the new leaders of the state "

Occupational Trends in the United States, by H. DEWEY ANDERSON and PERCY E. DAVIDSON. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1940, x + 618 pages.

This is a very authoritative and comprehensive treatise of occupational trends in the United States. The authors have brought together in most usable form the reports for the occupational classes of the seven volumes of the *Census of Occupations* published from 1870 to 1930 together with certain estimates for 1940. Extensive research into industrial history and current reports has been made and, consequently, the volume contains just the sort of material desperately needed these days by those who determine policies and plans for vocational trade and industrial education. This broad study of occupational trends should be studied with care by all educators and counselors.

Social Problems, by CARL M. ROSENQUIST. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940, 519 pages.

This text is to be distinguished from many other books in the field in a number of ways. The core around which Rosenquist's discussion is integrated lies in the recognition that "a great many, if not nearly all, of our social problems grow out of our economic system." In addition to this central framework, the problems are given heightened meaning through an adequate delineation of the "social and historical setting in which they occur." Each problem or group of problems is described in connection with the characteristics of the present-day community and the processes of social change. The range of problems treated and their analysis cover practically every aspect of socioeconomic maladjustment. On the whole, this book should prove highly satisfactory as a text.

The March of a Harried Two Million, by DAVID SNEDDEN. Published by the author, 460 Amherst Street, Palo Alto, California, 1940, 75 pages.

This little pamphlet comes from the pen of one of the great pioneers of the trade and industrial-education movement in this country, Professor David Snedden. From the point of view of one who has labored in the field for upwards of thirty-five years, Dr. Snedden writes some reflections on the present and the future of vocational education. Dr. Snedden is especially concerned with the young people of America and especially those between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years. Each year some two million young folk join this group and, as Dr. Snedden so vividly puts it, "proceed from the eastern dawn of adulthood into the unknown wilderness in pursuit of economic competency." Dr. Snedden makes many criticisms of current education programs and he bewails the inadequate philosophies underlying modern vocational education. He stresses the point that sound philosophies of vocational education must be built upon sound philosophies of economics. Dr. Snedden looks for a great expansion in vocational education and, wrapped in the mantle of a prophet, he indicates the scheme of vocational education in 1980! It is an interesting and challenging pamphlet.

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EDITORIAL

One of the modern controversies in education is the extent to which young people should be given the opportunity to freely express their own opinions on local and national issues.

On the one hand are those who assert that youth lacks the experience essential for sound judgment, and that education should seek primarily to preserve in youth the attitudes and convictions of their elders. A few days ago a well-known educator discussing selective service said, "This year of discipline will be good for our American youth reared in an atmosphere of freedom and self-expression."

On the other hand there are many who, with equal earnestness, believe that only as youth learns to face modern problems realistically and to have the opportunity for forming judgments and expressing their convictions are they able to cope with the ever changing issues of American life.

It is true that youth lacks the breadth of knowledge and depth of experience essential for the ripper judgments of more mature years. It is equally true, however, that youth is fired with a zealous idealism that may well be taken into account by those who guide the policies of our great nation.

Believing that this attitude of separatism which pervades both youth and age—youth feeling that its problems are theirs to solve,

and the "oldsters" believing that the problems of modern society rest wholly upon their own broader shoulders—may be partially bridged, *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* ventured the experiment of a national contest open only to high-school students. The topics were suggested by the Editorial Board under the general theme, "Social Problems Through the Eyes of Youth." The articles were limited to approximately fifteen hundred words.

Through coöperation with *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Incorporated, a complete set of the *Britannica Junior* is presented to the library of the school in which the winner of the prize essay on each topic is enrolled. The officers of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Incorporated, and the Editorial Board are happy to announce the following first-prize winners: Spencer J. Dvorkin, Gay Follmer, Ernest R. Gray, Jr., Emma Russell Helms, and Paul Sipprell.

Those winning second place and whose articles also appear in this issue are Bernard Greenberg and Irving Pfefferblit.

All winning articles appear in this issue.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

OWNERSHIP OF JOURNAL TRANSFERRED TO
THE PAYNE EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY
FOUNDATION, INCORPORATED

With this issue, *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* is happy to announce the creation of The Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Incorporated, to honor Dean E. George Payne. He not only founded and has continually guided the policies of *THE JOURNAL* but his life has been given to the development of educational sociology. To him, perhaps more than to any other man in America, can be attributed the signal honor of defining and identifying the field of educational sociology and of bringing it to its present position among the social sciences.

The ownership of *THE JOURNAL* is transferred from Rho Chapter, Phi Delta Kappa, to the Foundation, the membership of which is made up of all members of Rho Chapter in good standing, all members of the major faculty of the Department of Educational Sociology of New York University, and individuals elected to honorary membership.

The purposes of the Foundation are: to advance the knowledge and practice of the social aspects and implications of education; to conduct research and inquiries, to assist individuals or other agencies, either singly or in groups, to conduct research or inquiries by providing them with aid in the form of financial grants, scholarships, fellowships, prizes, collaboration, consultative advice, or moral support; to make the results of its own researches and inquiries, those in which it has assisted and those submitted to it for such purpose, available to individuals, corporations, associations, educational institutions, and any and all other groups of persons (a) by consultations, (b) by publication of reports, monographs, brochures, books, and the like; and (c) by publication of one or more periodicals, and specifically the magazine now known and published as *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*, under the corporate name of The Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, *Incorporated*

The editorial policy of *THE JOURNAL* will continue unchanged as it is vested in a Special Committee, the membership of which is the same as the Board of Editors. *THE JOURNAL* will continue the policy of general numbers and special issues and will seek to retain the same high standard that has made it one of the leading national professional journals. Although, for the most part, the articles are prepared upon request, *THE JOURNAL* will continue to publish unsolicited articles of high merit and will welcome such from its readers

The business office is the same, Room 51 in the Press Building, 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.

TIME OUT FOR YOUTH

(A simple story of the "teen age" as I see it)

PAUL SIPPPELL

George Bernard Shaw once mused that the only trouble with youth was that it had to be wasted on the young. And then there are those who believe that youth is not a time of life but a state of mind—that it is not necessarily characterized by rosy cheeks, red lips, and a lithe body; rather, it is the "pink champagne" in life, the beauty of imagination, the zest for adventure over love of ease, the fresh approach to everyday problems, and the passionate desire for truth and knowledge.

Youth is ageless. There are the young in heart and the young in fact. It is this latter group that interests me. They are the ones who sip "cokes" by the hour in Pete's corner drugstore, stream down the avenue in rickety "jalopies," drape themselves on overstuffed arm chairs for a brain workout with the "funnies," dress on the flashy side, cascade onto the dance floor like a troupe of trained animals, speak in a slangy individual style, and on the whole are a carefree, swifty, and fascinating lot.

But they do have their problems. First of all youth seeks fun. Some of them find it. A lot of them do not. Consciously or unconsciously they all have the same normal cravings. They wish to be socially accepted by others, possess a personal appearance that gives them a certain degree of confidence, find in themselves something that they can really do well and then reap the benefits, be able to take part in the social activities practised by those in their age group, find a place in the school of life that meets the standards of respect desired by that individual, and eventually establish themselves in a home of their own. For some of these values boys and girls will make tremendous sacrifices which, more than some of us realize, injure the soul and health of the individual.

The standards and exhausting pace which youth is subjected to

today are too great a strain. They all seem to be groping for something that they cannot find. Although a large percentage of them are happy and contented, it is brought on by artificiality and lacks the wholesomeness and richness which must have prevailed before the machine age.

Entertainment has become commercialized but, thank God, there are still some who thrill at the beauty of the changing seasons, find pleasure in the crisp tang of a wintry morning, gasp at the finesse with which Mother Nature opens her feather bag and spreads a white quilt over a dirty city, and marvel at nature's brilliant panorama of wonders.

The young people of today seem to be guided less and less by religion, although they have all felt, at some critical period in their lives, that there is a Supreme Power. But it is quite often just at these critical times that they go to Him for help. I know of so many youth who attend church and prayer meetings "religiously" and they absorb all the "blessed" words to which they are exposed. Yes, and their families are "good" Methodists, Baptists, or Catholics. In too many cases theirs is not a seven-day religion. Their "religion" ends on Sunday night. For the other six days they can be just as dishonest, deceitful, and lacking in character as they wish. It is too bad, but that is a fact for I have seen it happen so many times. And then there are some of the finest people of "teen age" I have ever met who rarely, if ever, attend church. In youth as well as adulthood religion seems to be a way of life—not a matter of going to church. Many students have faith in God and know the difference between right and wrong. I believe that is all that is necessary for a "religious" life.

One of the most distressing problems of the younger generation is that of drinking. Parents would be shocked—I mean parents of the "good boys and girls" would be shocked—if they knew everything about "little Johnny." That does not mean that young people drink to excess, but it can lead to that. Drinking is considered

smart It is talked about in a smart manner. Any reference to it in textbooks or class discussions sends a wave of giggles or grins around the room. In the "movies" if an intoxicated person walks across the screen they laugh hilariously. So much of their talk runs along these lines: "So and so had three beers last night. Boy! Did he look silly." And this is what too many of them consider fun.

The problems begin in the home. The young tend to adopt the ideas and attitudes of the older. The adults have liquor around and hold gay parties. Naturally, if it is all right for their parents, it cannot be too bad for them. The familiar tavern, with neon lights and Venetian blinds, is another source of the liquor problem as applied to youth.

Athletics probably play the leading role in the recreational life of the younger generation. Athletics have become one of the most important factors in bringing to light and correcting the faults of both boys and girls. A young person, active or successful in athletics, seems to develop a high degree of self-confidence. Aside from the physical value of athletics, it gives him poise, teaches good sportsmanship, enables him to get along with others better, and tends to develop a stronger and more interesting personality. However, in my observations, this is quite often true only if he translates his "athletic life" into his "real life." Some of our high-school athletic heroes turn out to be weak in character and conduct when "off the field."

Much has been said concerning sex and modern youth and much more could be said about it. However, very little is done about the matter. "Authorities" talk and write many articles on the subject but that is about as far as it goes. There is absolutely no doubt of the fact that sex in one form or another is the chief topic of conversation among the young people. Of course it is perfectly natural and harmless if it is kept on a high plain. Unfortunately it too often drops to the level of a "smut session." I believe this is due chiefly to the fact that they are unable to handle intelligently the new knowl-

edge gained. Then, too, this knowledge has no authoritative source to back it up. It seems to me educators ought to get their heads together and write a complete and nonsensational book of explanation. Then every high-school student should be required to read it and make a report on it.

Until about their junior year in high school, young people are only slightly aware or interested in their future. Up to this time they have failed to realize that the transition from dependence to independence—from their comparatively small world to a vast and more complicated world—is a reality. Those who are fortunate enough to continue their schooling have a few more years before they must face the open road, but to the thousands who must step out of high school and search for jobs the outlook is far from bright. It is then that present-day conditions have a distressing effect on them.

In every school there are some you know will succeed, even though they have no financial means. They have initiative; not just a little, but a lot of initiative. I believe there is a place in life for every one. The problem is to find it. Those who have an abundance of this thing called initiative can find it.

Thus far I have spoken mainly of the average youth. However, scattered among these are a few other types. There is the one-hundred-per-cent idealist. Very often he or she is apt to be somewhat lonely, but in clinging to this idealism the individual will no doubt ensure his winning in the end providing he has some degree of practicalness. And then there is the eccentric, whose appeal often lies in his eccentricities. Although quite often impractical, he is apt to be clever in many ways and usually finds contentment. The odd genius in a school lacks a normal social life, but his superiority in mental power puts him far ahead in other ways. The question is often brought up as to whether there really is the so-called "sissie." I say no. When you get right down to it, the "sissie" is a combination of the above-mentioned types.

There is the item of convention, too. Convention is the real enemy of youth. If one does not conform to the ideas, activities, and actions of the "big crowd" he is out socially. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred a youngster does not have a taste for liquor. In his mind he says over and over again, "All of them are doing it. It won't hurt me this once." It is the same with smoking. Rare is the fellow or girl who begins smoking for the love of it. But they wish to make a "sophisticated" impression. What a satisfaction it is to "light up a Lucky," exhale the floating puffs into the ozone, and delicately flick off the ashes with a deft touch of the little finger. Yes, it is "smart," but how stupid and pitiful. What I am trying to get at is that the average youth starts out to be good and fine and wholesome, but the actions and ideas of others kill many of his natural tendencies.

A complete solution to all the problems of youth is impossible. Much has been done for them, but much more could be done. Here is what I would do.

Open wide every available vacant building, lot, room, nook, and cranny. Fill them with worth-while and wholesome recreational facilities. Have every single community organization collaborate for a nationwide youth project. Bar all taverns, poolrooms, and similar "hangouts" to them. Provide numerous light and airy dance halls and stack the refreshment bar with milk shakes and soda pop. Bring more hay rides, dogs, family life, good books, and good motion pictures into the lives of the young people. Let loose an avalanche of fine motion pictures that would set an example and at the same time be entertaining and "painless."

I think that all schools (beginning in the seventh or eighth grade) should require many laboratory and shop courses—courses that touch on almost every type of occupation. In this way the student can decide at an early age what practical thing interests him. Then he should be encouraged to "stick to it," so that at the time of graduation he would have a complete picture of his future job.

Throughout this essay there are a number of harsh statements which, perhaps, give the impression that I condemn youth. This is by no means true. The "teen age" is the most interesting and likable group of people on earth. I like to see them in the summer, in gaily colored polo shirts contrasted with a healthy coat of tan. I love to watch them munch on marshmallow sundaes decked with crushed fruit, nuts, and maraschino cherries. I enjoy their frenzied antics to the tune of the ice-cream parlor nickelodeon. I like to see them out camping, drinking in all the glories of outdoor life, glowing with health, and always ready to go. But why shouldn't youth appeal to me, I am one of them!

Paul Sipprell, a postgraduate student in the high school at East Aurora, New York, is a member of the local chapter of *Quill and Scroll* and prepares a weekly feature "Highschool Highlights" for the community newspaper. He expects to go to college to continue training for a career in journalism.

YOUTH LOOKS AT PEACE AND WAR

GAY FOLLMER

Today we are faced with the prospect of involvement in war. It does no good to play ostrich. In any war a great part of the burden is carried by youth—not only because it is largely youth who serve on the battlefield, but because when war is over youth finds its visions blackened, its opportunities ruined, and its world obliterated. Yet it is always youth that must build a new world from this chaos. Therefore, youth has a right to speak.

A fact which has been held continually before our eyes is that war is horrible. Pictures of civil war in Spain, the Japanese invasion of China, and the Russian invasion of Finland have told us vividly that war is hell. Moreover, we have read books, such as Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, Gibb's *Middle of the Road*, and more recently Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, books which certainly attribute no romance or glory to war. Yes, I think

we know what war means. We know the madness, and agony, and brutality. Could one forget the pictures of torn men in the streets of Madrid, or of fear-crazed mobs in China, or of frozen Russian soldiers in Finland?

In fact we know war so well that we would sacrifice almost anything for the sake of peace. Some of us have stated—and all of us have heard some one state at some time—that war has never saved anything, that all wars are caused by the machinations of selfish moneygrubbers, that war is the most awful catastrophe which can befall civilization, that almost any condition is preferable to war.

Perhaps such statements are entirely correct. One surely could not say that war is the best way or even a permanent way of preserving certain ideals. We know that a good many wars have been promoted for the financial benefit of a few quick-fingered men. One surely could not deny that war is catastrophic. But are there not a few—a very few—circumstances worse than war?

I believe that oppression is worse than war. Freedom is worth any price, even war. Freedom! The word is tossed about so lightly that for some of us it no longer has any meaning. Yet place it beside its opposite, look at the words, and think. Freedom—Slavery.

We have a choice. Which one shall it be? If we brush away the cobwebs, we discover that neutrality is a fine word—as long as both sides can with fairness be regarded as equal champions of right or wrong. Assuredly we have heard propaganda from both participants in the present war. But we *know* that Hitler's movement has put men in concentration camps because they had the courage to write what they pleased, or speak what they thought, or worship where they desired. We know that Hitler deliberately crushed science and learning in his country so that he might substitute the myth of racial superiority. We know that in *Mein Kampf* he declared all democracies were his enemies and it was his aim to defeat them all. We know—with reference to *The Revolution of Nihilism* by Rauschnig—that world chaos and anarchy are Hitler's aims.

We know that the Nazis at their Fuehrer's command removed any one so unfortunate as to obstruct their path, for example, the Austrian leader, Dollfuss. We know that Hitler has established in his country the belief that war is a magnificent activity

The most stupid man who has eyes to see or ears to hear must realize that in the seven years since he came to power Hitler—in violation of his treaties and his pledged word—has taken over the democracies. You know the list—Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, France. Unless one refuses to face reality, he must see that Hitler seized these countries not because his nation was a "have-not" nation and deserved to be a "have" nation, but rather because Hitler has an insane desire for power. That is not a supposition. He has written it out for any one to read. He even told the methods he would use to grasp this power. Belgium and Holland and France did not believe him.

As the United States was not able permanently to exist half slave and half free, so the world cannot permanently exist half slave and half free. True, it is impossible to draw arbitrary lines and state that one side is right and the other side completely wrong. There are points in favor of each. But roughly there is freedom, and there is slavery.

The one thing worth fighting and even dying for is, then, freedom. Neither national honor, nor conquest of territory, nor extension of national culture, nor any other good is worth the horror of war. But freedom is worth it. Through all the ages men have died so that freedom might live. Those men felt that they owed something not only to themselves but to those who would come after them. So it is with us. *Without freedom life is not worth living.*

If we must fight, let us prepare ourselves as well as is humanly possible. If we must fight, let us do it without hesitation and without fear. Finally, if we must fight, if we must make a war, let us also remember that we must make a peace.

Once before men died so that "the world would be safe for

democracy." Once before they died "to end war." Let us not muffle our chance again. It might very possibly be the last one we would get. War is the ultimate in futility, stupidity, and tragedy. Man has a brain which can show him the way to lasting peace—if he will only think.

All people who are well acquainted with world affairs, with world economies and politics, realize that the world is a unit and its peoples one. This fact is clearly demonstrated by the world-wide depression which followed the World War. In the case of international relations, generosity is the greatest selfishness, for that which benefits one country ultimately benefits all. Obversely, that which harms one country harms all.

Many distinguished people, from William Penn to Clarence Streit, have propounded what they believed to be workable plans for the establishment of permanent peace. Maybe it is presumptuous that I, a high-school student, should put forth a plan. Nevertheless, I shall do so.

First, it seems likely that when the war ends we shall find the world on the whole either completely enslaved or completely free. There have been periods in history when civilization was almost completely blotted out by hordes of barbarians, yet somewhere a small flame of light glimmered until once more it could set the world on fire. Even the ruin of this present civilization would not mean that in the future some other might not arise, greater than this, possessing all of its virtues and fewer of its weaknesses. But let us take the only hypothesis useful to us. Let us suppose that we are not slaves but free men.

Our task is to abolish war forever. Perhaps we could accomplish this through a federation of states. This federation would have to include every nation. It would necessitate the lessening of national sovereignty. It would maintain an international army, small, modern, and efficient, controlled by all nations. No country would be allowed an armed force except one comparable to civil police

In this federation of states there would be an international currency. Tariffs would be abolished so that free trade could exist throughout the world.

Of course, the federation would be a democracy. There is no other form of government that would work. Since only men and women without political experience make obedient subjects for dictators, it would be necessary to nurture carefully young republics, such as Germany and Italy would become—according to our hypothesis.

The most important field would be education. We must teach the common brotherhood of all men. This is no pious dogma. Unless we realize our essential brotherhood, we can never hope for peace. If I realize that the Russian, for instance, has the same hopes and fears, likes and dislikes that I have; if I realize that he thinks and talks about the same subjects, though he uses a different language; if I realize in short that he is as human as I am, then I would consider it ridiculous to shoot him because some one assured me that a Russian was a brutal monster who had no right to live. I would know the Russian was actually the same kind of man as my next-door neighbor.

It would be interesting to experiment with education to see if it is not possible to raise a generation free of prejudice and fear, a generation trained to think, a generation steeped in tolerance instead of intolerance. We might begin with America. Would it not be a stimulating experience to read the history of the American Revolution written from the British point of view? Nearly two centuries of patriotically edited textbooks have managed to give us a viewpoint highly American but slightly one-sided. Maybe a Spanish history of the Spanish-American War would be equally revealing. I suggest these mainly because we cannot expect other people to do what we will not do. Unless all the people of the world can endure a bit of seeing the other fellow's view, for a change, the federation of states would collapse.

The federation of which I speak or some similar organization must be created unless mankind prefers eventual destruction. We can achieve permanent peace if we are willing to work for it. Liberty and peace for all the world! Why should we not establish them—we who will be the adults of tomorrow?

*Gay Follmer, sixteen years of age and a junior in Central High School, Omaha, Nebraska, is majoring in languages and social science. Of her work and plans, she writes: "The most interesting class I have ever had was just begun this year. There are only two people in it and we are free to study in any way we please. Our purpose is to prepare for the annual League of Nations contest in the spring. Miss Elsie Fisher, our instructor, is extremely interested in the subject and very fine to work with. I am almost as much interested in music as in writing—which means a great deal. I play several instruments, piano, viola, and a little bit on the 'cello. At present I am taking voice lessons and getting a great deal of pleasure from it—although that probably could not be said for my listeners. One of the things I enjoy most is my work on the school newspaper, the *Register*, of which I am 'Literary Editor'—an extra nice way of saying book reviewer. The only other article I have had printed is in a recently published book, *A Great American*, written in tribute to General John J. Pershing. The book was compiled by the Pershing Memorial Commission appointed by the Nebraska legislature. After graduation I intend to go on to college. Hoping to become a writer someday, I write short stories for practice and, incidentally, for the fun I get out of it."*

YOUTH LOOKS AT CAREERS

SPENCER J. DVORKIN

With eight millions of Americans unemployed today, the thousands of high-school and college graduates must ask themselves what chance they have of getting a job. Too often the answer is that they will be taken care of in time. It is too bad that no good-natured fairy is watching over each and every one of us to make sure we are a success. The number of unemployed shows that this is not the case.

A large number of unemployed youth is a definite menace to our democratic system. Foreign propaganda finds some of the most fertile soil in the minds of the unemployed. "At least these foreign countries have very little unemployment," is often the statement of many of our youth.

Disappointed youth, brought up in the frustration and degradation produced by unemployment, will not make good citizens. It is hard to convince youth that a democratic system is the best way of life, when that system leaves them unemployed. A disgruntled person will not make a good citizen. The government of tomorrow is in the hands of the youth of today. If youth does not believe in democracy, there will be no democracy when it controls the government.

Our society demands that all of us have jobs, but it does not provide for all of us. If society will not offer jobs to the youth of America, youth must take care of itself. Society may give as an excuse that there are no more "frontiers" left today, but this is not true. There are many new opportunities these days: radio, television, motion pictures, air conditioning, Diesel engineering, plastics, indirect lighting, and others. All life must be planned. In order to get a job, one must take certain definite steps. These steps must be well planned. The time to start planning is right now.

Only a very few people have jobs thrust upon them. Most job-seekers must find work through their own initiative. The primary requisite is self-study. You must know yourself. Do not waste your talents by going into an occupation that will not utilize them to the fullest extent. Do not try for a job that is out of your reach.

In order to know yourself, it is best to find out the appeal certain jobs give to you. Vacation and week-end jobs, trips to neighboring factories, workshops, plants, and laboratories, etc., talks with workmen and business men in all fields, and the reading of books dealing with different occupations will enable you to set something as your goal.

Experience may enable you to measure your talents. Hobbies often show a person's special abilities, but a better analysis may be made through aptitude tests, vocational ability examinations, personality tests, etc. The combination of your scholarship record with your abilities and intelligence often enables an expert vocational

counselor to see if you have a chance in the job of your selection.

Often the final selection of a life career depends on the conditions of the job itself. It is helpful to know whether special knowledge is needed, whether perfect eyesight is required, what is the chance for advancement, whether the salary is good, etc. This information may be got from surveys, pamphlets, and from men who work in that profession.

The chief way to study for a job is through the schools. The best training is got in colleges and universities especially equipped for the study. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for instance, is one of the best places to study engineering because it has one of the best equipped engineering schools in the country. It must be stressed, however, that only people with good scholastic averages are able to get into these schools.

A unique place to study for a job is Antioch College. The main feature of that college is its "coöperative plan." In the second year of a five-year course, two people work together on the same job. One studies in the college for ten weeks while the other works in a regular job obtained through the school. Then they reverse. The feature of this plan is that "book knowledge" learned in the school is put to practical use in commercial jobs. This training gives the student valuable experience in the field while he is still studying for it. It also introduces him to job situations which are real—real since he must live up to all job requirements, and because he actually gets paid.

An important step in getting a job is your ability to say that you have had some experience in the work. Therefore, constant practice is extremely helpful. Week-end jobs, acting as assistant helper in stores or laboratories, should give valuable experience.

Very few employers are going to beat a path to your door begging to employ you. You must have clever selling ability. The best jobs are not advertised in the newspapers. You must go to the proper

place to advertise your wares. This means registering in an employment agency, and, if a company has a personnel department, registering in it.

If you have not yet learned how to write good English, you had better learn quickly. The next step is a letter of application. In your letter you should stress your strong points. Tell of your experience, and show the employer how it would be to his best advantage to employ you. If a personal interview can be arranged, it will be very helpful. First impressions count a great deal. Do not enter the room like a bombshell or like a frightened rabbit. You do not get "chummy" or shut up like a clam and expect the employer to discover your virtues. Tell him your strong points. Recently an ex-salesman had a seven-foot graph made showing his sales record for his previous years of employment. He showed this to the employer and was hired on the spot.

You should be well dressed and perfectly at ease. Little details count. How you walk, talk, how you fix your hair, all add up considerably. Treat the office girl nicely, for often a word from her will either hire you or send you on your way. Do not say you are more than you really are. The truth will win out. Offer yourself just as you are and hope for the best.

Once you get a job, do not stay too long without thinking of improving yourself. You will find neighboring schools and colleges offering courses in your field. Study, improve yourself, and you will thereby improve your chances of being a success.

Not more than 20 per cent of the high-school population is interested in college entrance and even less than that actually get to college. Therefore information pertaining to applying for a job, where to get the necessary training, etc., should be given in the high school. Some of this information is given in the first-term civics course, but more benefit would be derived from the course if it were amplified and given to all eighth termers in all high schools. A

youth would feel more secure with this general information at his disposal and would be encouraged to look for vocational opportunities in his community.

Spencer J. Drorkin is sixteen years old and a junior in the High School of Science, Bronx, New York. He expects to continue his work in science and mathematics preparatory to entering college to secure a degree in chemical engineering. His hobbies are stamp collecting and reading.

YOUTH LOOKS AT POLITICS

(FIRST PRIZE)

ERNEST R. GRAY, JR.

Some one once said, "A politician is the only animal that can sit astride a fence and yet keep both ears on the ground." Why this should be necessary I do not know. A definition of the word politician is "One who is engaged in politics," while in the dictionary politics is defined as the science of civil government. It would almost appear that any one can be a politician. All he has to do is to experiment with the government and he will be a student of scientific government, or in other words a politician.

To me, a young man of seventeen, a politician is a vicious meddler who is in the business for a profit. This may seem a provincial idea, *but* every politician I have ever seen or even heard of has had plenty of money, many of them with large expensive cars and luxurious homes. I do not mind all their extravagances. What I want to know is where is all this money coming from? When our country has the biggest national debt it has ever known, how can all these jovial politicians get their hands on all this money that they so happily fritter away? How have these people obtained this strangle hold on us? How, when this is a democracy, can a certain group exert such great influence? Well, it all started way back in George Washington's time.

According to James Bryce in his *The American Commonwealth*, the history of American political parties and machine politics began

in 1778 when two opposing tendencies arose—one in favor of strengthening the central government and the other in favor of upholding the state. Why Mr. Bryce thinks this is of paramount importance I do not know. I think that James Madison had the real idea when in my own words he said that party differences arose between the haves and the have nots. Now this has to be interpreted very carefully or a misconstrued opinion may result. He says that the party differences arose from this, and that the economic feeling was lost later on. Alexander Johnston said that party organization began in 1791. Evidently these differences had grown so great and so many that an organization was needed to settle them, hence each party started to organize. In Washington's administration feeling rose high against the measures taken by Hamilton and his followers. To combat them, the opposition organized their party and called it the Democratic-Republican Party. Thus at that time the mad and glorious train ride of the politicians left the station and started out. The Federalists laid the rails in front of the train by following suit.

For about seven years the ride was very slow and then all of a sudden the opposition disappeared and the train coasted slowly downhill for twenty-eight years. During this time the northwest region of the country was settled and in the year 1828 there was a sudden shift of power and the Democratic-Republicans were out. The man who did more to help this train ride of politicians and machine politics was elected president. With Andrew Jackson as chief engineer and dispatcher and conductor, the train picked up speed when the spoils system was started. The spoils system! What a disgusting idea that was! By that system any man in the party in power was entitled to a job when he helped to get his party to Washington. It is interesting to note that this system came from the West where a few years ago politics and political jobs were sacred. Why there was this change no one knows, or no one wants to guess. Maybe it was because the people in that region had a feeling that it was about time they had an active interest in their govern-

ment and to get that interest they would use methods that were much more certain than the conventional ones

During the first eight years that these people were in power many radically changed social conditions arose. The financial and industrial interests of New England and the Middle West now had aligned against them the laboring classes, the farmers of the West, and the slave owners who raised cotton in the South. Also at this time the chief parties changed their names. The Democratic-Republicans now became the Democrats and the Federalists became the Republicans.

Starting with Jackson the lower class Americans became the chief factors in the guiding of the country. This also brought about new ideas. How to control these masses of people. What a nightmare the politicians had! Out of this crisis the present-day idea of machine politics arose. The parties would split the country into districts and over these districts there would be supervisors who nowadays are called the precinct executive. This man has to ensure that all the party members are in the fold and also as many independents as possible. Above him there is a ward executive. All the way to the top there are these officials. To be a candidate for any office you must be friendly with all these petty officials and also the higher ups. They all exact their prices. Now where does the money come from? That must be a deep secret because no one really knows. Maybe those at the heads of the parties know but not you or I. We are just the scapegoats of an outmoded political policy. You and I in other words are the backbone of the nation. If we give way the country will sink. Therefore this system is outmoded and we can do without the politicians and machine politics.

According to Frank R. Kent politicians play the "great game of politics." To do anything or to be anything a person must play ball with the politicians. You could not even get to first base politically speaking without dropping a contribution in the party coffers. Why should you or I have to make this contribution if we are interested

in working for our country? I may be wrong, but it appears to me that about all the politician is good for is to extend favors but always at a price, and, with his pals who are in the same business, to pull the strings that determine, more than we like to believe, those who presumably, but not actually, are our representatives in government.

Politics in America must be cleaned up. It is for us the coming voters to ensure this house cleaning. We have a duty to perform, some of us see, in time more will see it and the job will be well done. Indeed, some one once said, "To get a traffic light at that dangerous intersection, a politician must be killed there. Just see how quickly a light would be installed."

Ernest R. Gray, Jr., seventeen years of age, was born in India and came to the United States "at an early age." He is now a senior in the Oyster Bay High School, Long Island, studying science, language, mathematics, and English, and participating in various other activities including the school orchestra and chorus and the Boy Scouts. This fall he expects to enter Duke University.

YOUTH LOOKS AT POLITICS

(SECOND PRIZE)

BERNARD GREENBERG

When one thinks of politics he thinks in terms of present candidates and recent issues, never realizing the extent of political activity in this country. Most citizens of our nation do not realize that our country is considered by the election bosses as four different voting sections. People have been told of the "solid South" many times, but few realize what this means. "Maine and Vermont" are family by-words. These are two of the sections into which this nation is divided. Let me explain what I mean by this statement.

If in the first case the South is always considered Democratic, the latter always Republican, why is this so? Almost since the time of the Civil War, each new generation of voters has voted exactly as their parents had done, and the political bias has become a tradition applicable to all campaigns. The majority of voters know little of

the candidates and their differences, voting simply by following the pattern of custom.

The South is Democratic mainly because Lincoln was Republican. The Northeast usually votes Republican for no more apparent reason than that the South is Democratic.

Now for the other two sections. The belt stretching from New York to Illinois is the doubtful section. Actually, election results there depend on the weather mostly. If it rains, the farmers do not get to the polls, and the vote in the cities is the deciding factor. If the weather is clear, then they do, and a plurality of rural votes, which are usually the opposite of those in the urban centers, swings the election. Then all the election depends upon is which outnumbers the other and what party is for which group—urban or rural?

The Far West is the fourth of the political divisions. Its votes depend upon which party does more or can do more for their particular constituents. Local "bosses" in these two parts are vital factors in small elections. It is wrong to say Democratic "bosses" because both parties have these treacherous creatures

One might ask from where these men get their "pull." Mainly from the fact that they hand out jobs, relief, and special "favours." An election is really only in a minor way a people's choice. It has become a conflict governed not by the relative ability of respective candidates but by weather, one man's choice, and tradition

Let us now consider another factor of American politics—the electoral college. A president can be elected even though he receives only forty-two per cent of the popular vote. In one or more instances in our history, the "successful" candidate received less than half of the votes of the people. This, of course, is entirely unfair. The popular vote should be the governing factor. But if this solution does not satisfy, would it not be wise to establish proportional representation of the States' electoral votes? For example, Mr. A gets one million votes, Mr. B gets one-half million. If the State has fifteen votes, then the former should receive ten votes, and the latter five.

With this system the college would become really representative of the popular vote, instead of far from a real reflection as it is now.

There are many subtle laws and requirements for voting that restrict our freedom of voting. The poll tax is the most obvious. The Negro is poor. He cannot afford the money, so he does not vote. The rule that a man's father had to vote if he is to do so is the most vicious. How can any Negro or immigrant vote, if his parents were slaves, or if he has no American ancestors? Luckily, this prejudice holds sway in only a few States.

It hurts me to continue. These procedures are simply criminal. When will our people wake up and make our nation really a "land of the free"? Our political slate needs a thorough cleaning and it is evidently up to us, of the younger generation, to get busy

Bernard Greenberg, sixteen years old and a sophomore in the High School of Science, Bronx, New York, is interested in aviation, engineering, and architecture, and his hobbies include model building, drafting, and painting

YOUTH EVALUATES ITS IDEALS

(FIRST PRIZE)

EMMA RUSSELL HELMS

In a few years, we, the youth of today, will take over our duties as leaders of this country; at the same time we will have new privileges which we must rightly use. The question is: Are we capable of having so important a task entrusted to us? Or, first of all, do we realize its importance? To this last question I will say this: we certainly should. If a senior-high-school student has not already made up his mind where he stands in this world and what he intends to do and be, then he does not deserve the privileges which he is receiving each day. That kind of person is destined to go through life as a cheater—cheating himself of ambition and determination. It should be in our minds definitely just how we are going to be beneficial to our generation. We cannot shirk our duty any longer. Some one asks, "Are there any that want to?" "Yes," I say regret-

fully, "there are " There are always some persons who fail to coöperate in carrying their fair share of responsibility for the welfare of their community and of the nation.

I have tried to point out (and every one should already know) that we cannot have privileges without responsibilities. If we are given protection, education, recreation, and opportunity, then most surely obedience, service, and loyalty are expected from us. We must be the ones to encourage others to do their best. A democracy can be either the worst type of government or the best.

Where does our country stand? And what are we going to do to make it even better? Whenever people fail to do helpful things or insist on doing harmful ones, society will crumble. Therefore, in order that we may be sure of protection and progress, it becomes necessary that people do some things and not others. Society will function and prosper if the accomplishments of its members are directed in such a manner as to increase the well-being of all. Let each of us, then, learn what our responsibilities are and know where we stand.

In a democracy every one has an opportunity to be heard. Every one has his own opinion and the freedom of attempting to influence others to think or act as he does. These opinions or attitudes increase in large groups and grow so strong that they may prevail over other opinions. Lincoln said that public opinion is the strongest force in the world. Government officials are most anxious to please the public in national affairs. Since so many people are influenced by public opinion, we must appreciate this power. The most vital agent of all in the formation of public opinion is ordinary, everyday conversation. Perhaps if we realized this fully we should be a bit more careful. We should seek to train our thoughts to as near perfection as possible, and resolve that when we say something to influence others we will understand the subject fully and know that we are influencing for the best.

Now we must not stop here, once we realize our responsibilities,

know where we stand, and know what to say. We are gifted with innumerable friends, and many more acquaintances. Are these people going to stand in our way to success or are we going along to prosperity and happiness together? The answer lies in our attitude toward one another. If we do not learn how to live together effectively, or if we fail to use such knowledge, we will get in one another's way so that no one will make much progress. If, however, we learn how to live together effectively, and use this knowledge to the full, all of us shall make progress. Therefore, cultivate friends, let them be steppingstones to success, not barriers. Learn to mix with people. Even if one does not desire to become a successful person, he still must associate with people. The purpose of our life together is to satisfy the wants which we cannot satisfy alone. This reminds me of two lines from Percy Bysshe Shelley,

Are we not formed as notes of music are,
For one another, tho' dissimilar?

If we take all these preceding steps toward bettering ourselves for the future, we are well on the way to success. Still we have to have many small but important characteristics or qualities. One of these is culture, for culture influences our life together. Matthew Arnold said, "Culture is not satisfied till we all come to a perfect man; it knows that the sweetness and light of the few must be imperfect until the raw and unkindled masses of humanity are touched with sweetness and light." Of course we can accomplish nothing if we go into it with ignorance. We must have knowledge. Knowledge may be called the great light that has brightened the pathway of human progress. Few sentences contain more truth than the three words of Francis Bacon, "Knowledge is power." We should be careful, however, not to think that knowledge alone is sufficient. Even so wise a person as Socrates seems to have made the mistake of thinking that the person who knows most, especially about human nature, will be the best person. Some modern people think that the person who

has knowledge is the one who will put most into life and get most out of life, but in reality there are some people who know a great deal but who are miserable failures because they do not make effective use of what they know. It takes knowledge plus an effective use of that knowledge to build a successful life.

Yet, beyond all this, a person, to succeed, must possess a deep religious conviction. Without religion there is no true peace. Religion brings sympathy and inspiration. When we are lonely or sick or sorrowful or afraid, or lose our sense of values, it may comfort us and fortify us against what Shakespeare called "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune." Religion has suggested many ideals and inspired many people to attain them. A religious writer once said, "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it." Religion is playing an important part in this training.

We have these ideals we are to reach. There are many more. But, somehow, I think that when the fundamentals are mastered, the others come easy just by doing them. May we be forever attaining higher levels of success by keeping high ideals and remaining courageous and honest citizens of a democracy.

*Emma Russell Helms, seventeen years old, is a senior taking the Latin course in the Sidney Lanier High School, Montgomery, Alabama, and is assistant editor of the school's paper *The White and the Blue*. She plans to study sociology when she enters college next fall and would like to go to the University of North Carolina.*

YOUTH EVALUATES ITS IDEALS

(SECOND PRIZE)

IRVING PFEFFERBLIT

Today the civilization that we know is confronted with a tremendous threat. The threat is not to its security, or to its comfort, but to its very existence. Why? Where has this threat sprung from; where comes its power?

There is a type of modern man who is ready with the answers

He springs at you, waving his arms and shouting, "Economics, post-war theories, Versailles treaties." He is likely to be a very intelligent person, a liberal. He is a liberal—and he has made the error which all the liberals of the past century have made. The principal tenet of his faith was the theory of the innate goodness of man, that science would make the world over into a social Eden, and that the people would adapt themselves accordingly. Anything outside the realm of physical phenomena was scorned. He looked uncomfortable when one discussed religion or talked about morals. He did not need these things; he would build the world over from without.

And yet, though liberals rejected the improvement of the spirit, they never lost their faith in it. They always believed in the essential goodness of humanity and in its moral values, truth, good, justice.

Therefore they were entirely unprepared for it, when a new philosophy, a new religion, burst upon the world, which had as its essential articles of faith the complete negation of all the ideals the world had held in common for ten thousand years.

The group called "liberals" attempted in some measure even to find moral excuses for the fascists, though the fascists themselves trumpeted to the world the fact that they were no longer bound by the old morals, in fact that they intended to do away with them.

The great decay of liberal courage and thought, therefore, must stand with economic and political reasons as one of the great causes for the growth of fascism. This much is certain. But in order to fight the destructive forces we must summon up as great a spirit as theirs, we must bend every sinew as they have bent every sinew to the task of becoming a nation unified in spirit and concept.

And to do this we must reexamine our ideals. To the youth of today we must explain that it is no longer fashionable to be cynical; it is no longer cultured to sneer. The postwar reaction bred of black despair must and need no longer engulf us. We have something now to fight for, something great and noble. A few years, or perhaps months, ago it would have been impossible to say that; one would

have been laughed to silence. But it is true now, and it will be true for a long time to come.

But what are the ideals we are fighting for? First of all, they are the fundamental moral values denied by Hitler and post-Nietzschean philosophers. We believe in humanity, in the ability of mankind to direct its own destiny, so that it shall go forward. We believe in justice and truth for all men.

Before this one could have said we all believe in that. But it is no longer true. These are the very things most patently denied by the dictators. We believe in life, and we will accept death to ensure the growth of life, and of civilization, which is life. We believe that the arbitrary discipline and the artificial efficiency of fascism are unhealthful products of an unhealthy creature. We believe that fascism does not offer a way out of the world dilemma we are in; that on the contrary it constitutes a refutation of every human goal but power. We believe in mankind and Hitler does not. We believe in the rights of men to enrich their lives and make them fuller and happier.

These are high-sounding words, but our times demand high ideals and high attempts. We stand ready to defend our ideals, to protect what we have accomplished in America and what we hope to accomplish. We stand ready to defend our ideals here, and to spread them abroad. That is the mission of Americans today.

Irving Pfefferblit, a sophomore in the High School of Science, Bronx, New York, is fourteen years old. He is majoring in science and writing is his hobby. He states that he has no definite plans as to the future, following graduation.

CURRENT POPULATION TRENDS AND RURAL EDUCATION

P. K. WHELPTON

Sociologists and educators no doubt would like a demographer writing on this topic to present information regarding trends in the quality of the rural population, especially in the innate ability of rural children to learn and to reason. This demographer would like very much to do so, but, since the chief sources of the data available on these matters are the tests given by various educators, it seems desirable for him to confine himself to quantitative trends. To discuss them at the present time is rather risky, with so few data now available from the 1940 Census and so many to be released soon. We know now the total number of people in 1940, some things as to their characteristics, and the total number of rural and urban people. Within a few months, however, we will be told the characteristics of rural and urban groups, e g., their race, nativity, sex, age, marital condition, school attendance in March 1940, highest grade of school completed, occupation, employment status, weeks worked and wage or salary income during 1939, and place of residence on April 1, 1935. Several of these matters need to be considered in an adequate discussion of current population trends and rural education, but at present one can only guess at some of them on the basis of fragmentary information and with the realization that the guesses may soon be shown to differ widely from the Census figures.

One fact is already clear from the 1940 Census; namely, the slowing up of population growth in the United States as a whole is not affecting the schools serving the rural population as much as those serving the urban population. The national rate of population growth was cut in half during the last twenty years, being 16.1 per cent from 1920 to 1930 but only 7.2 per cent from 1930 to 1940. The urban growth rate dropped much more rapidly, from 27.3 per cent to 7.9 per cent, but the rural growth rate actually rose, from 4.4 per

cent to 6.4 per cent.¹ Rural growth was far from uniform throughout the nation, however. Among the States the highest rate of rural growth was 32.2 per cent in California, but gains of 15 per cent or more occurred in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Michigan, Florida, Nevada, Washington, and Oregon. At the other extreme, the largest rate of rural loss was 13.7 per cent in South Dakota, but decreases of 7.5 per cent or more occurred in North Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma.

Variations in rural growth within States were greater than those between States. Many of the largest rural gains occurred in areas surrounding large cities, due chiefly to the development of autos, paved roads, and rural electricity which has made it feasible for city workers to live comfortably in the country. Most of the other large rural gains occurred in areas of the South and West which have no large city. "Some of them owe their rapid growth to such local events as the opening of an irrigation project, the discovery of oil, or the development of a resort area. On the other hand, there are a great many whose growth cannot be accounted for by such increases in their capacity to support people. A large part of them are found in the Appalachian highlands, in cutover regions in Michigan, Minnesota, and the South, in the swampy areas of the Gulf coast, in the western Ozarks, and in mountainous areas of the Far West."² The attraction of migrants to these poorer agricultural areas seems to occur largely because of the presence of a little tillable land and of woods providing shelter and fuel in return for their labor. These

¹ These percentages are from *Urban and Rural Population of the United States 1940* (Washington, D. C.: Bureau of the Census) (a special release dated January 18, 1941, Series P-3, No. 7) and are based on the rural-urban population as of each Census. On this basis much of the urban growth from 1930 to 1940 occurred because many places classified as rural in 1930 gained enough to pass the 2,500 mark and be classified as urban in 1940. In contrast, if no such changes are made, the entire rural area of 1930 had a larger population gain during the decade than the entire urban area, a situation new in our Census history.

² Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, "Changes in Regional and Urban Patterns of Population Growth," *American Sociological Review*, vol. V, no. 6 (December 1940), p. 928.

resources and some outside work enable them to eke out a meager existence.

Most of the rural areas with large losses from 1930 to 1940 are located "in a wedge-shaped area extending roughly from central Montana to Sweetwater, Texas, then northeast to Kansas, and north to Canada. Much of this area is the 'Dust Bowl,' from which drought and wind have driven thousands of people since 1930. Furthermore, in all of this area, a less spectacular but highly important change has stimulated out-migration, namely, the continued increase in labor efficiency in agriculture. This development undoubtedly has been an important cause of the relatively large population losses which occurred in certain of the other 'rural' counties, several of which are located in the good farming areas of the Texas Black Lands and of north central Missouri."³

Changes in the total number of persons affect the educational system because of their relation to changes in property valuation and the ability of an area to support education, but, more directly, because of their relation to changes in the school population. Attention will be centered first on the latter. As in earlier decades, the national rates of increase for the population of school age differed significantly from those for older age groups. Due to the decreasing number of births since 1921 the number of children of elementary-school age (6 to 13) dropped sharply from 19,724,851 in 1930 to about 18,029,000 in 1940 (off 8.6 per cent). In contrast, the number of high-school age (14 to 17) increased over 3 per cent, from 9,341,221 in 1930 to about 9,650,500 by 1940, and the number of college age (18 to 21) jumped almost ten per cent, from 9,026,741 to about 9,843,000.

Variations between areas in gain or loss at the school ages probably have been as large as those for the total population, and probably have followed a similar pattern. In general, areas with the largest increase in total population have had the smallest decrease in chil-

³ Thompson and Whelpton, *loc cit*

dren 6 to 13, and the largest increase in children 14 to 17. Thus, the urban population increased 7.9 per cent from 1930 to 1940, children aged 14 to 17 increased 7.3 per cent, but children aged 6 to 13 decreased almost 10 per cent (from 9,756,584 to about 8,785,000). In rural areas the farm population as a whole was slightly smaller in 1940 than in 1930, and had a sharp drop in the number of children—over 9 per cent at ages 14 to 17, and almost 13 per cent at ages 6 to 13 (from 6,018,730 to about 5,238,000). In contrast, the rural-nonfarm population, which had the largest gain (14.5 per cent) during the decade, had 13.1 per cent more children aged 14 to 17 and 1.4 per cent more aged 6 to 13. While the decrease in the birth rate is responsible for the national decrease in the number of children of elementary-school age, differences in the downward trend of the birth rate in the urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural farm groups have played only a minor part in accounting for the differences in rates of change of children. Migration away from farms, and to suburban areas, has been the main causal factor.

This large national decrease in children of elementary-school age would seem to have offered an opportunity for some reduction in the total expenditures for elementary education. It is hardly fair, however, to multiply the decrease of 1,696,000 by \$75.00 (which is the approximate expenditure per pupil) and think of the resulting figure of about \$1,272,000 as possible savings. In the majority of school districts it has been impracticable to reduce the number of elementary teachers and the expenses for heat, building upkeep, and other items at a rate anywhere nearly equal to the reduction in enrollment. Frequently, too, the decrease in pupils has merely relieved overloaded teachers and overcrowded rooms, and has permitted needed improvement in the quality of educational services.

The large increases in number of school children which have occurred in many rural areas near large cities, contrary to the general trend, have raised extremely difficult problems for the local school-board members and teachers. Much of the adult population increase

in these areas consists of persons who work in city factories, stores, or offices which cannot be taxed by the school district in which they live. And while the new houses have raised the total property valuation in these rural districts, the per capita valuation is usually less than it was earlier when more of the local people lived on farms. Had it not been for the various State aid programs which have been put into effect the problem would have been much more serious in these districts.

What changes are to be expected in the number of youngsters of school age during the 1940's? This is an intriguing question. Considering the nation as a whole, the 18- to 21-year-old group should decline about 8.4 per cent, from about 9,843,000 to 9,020,000, and the 14- to 17-year-old group about 15 per cent, from about 9,650,500 to 8,170,000. Unexpected fluctuations in foreign immigration or in death rates may change the situation somewhat, but these estimates should be fairly reliable. Estimates of the 6- to 13-year-old group in 1950 are subject to a larger error, since nearly half of these youngsters are not yet born. However, the annual number of births has been within 4.7 per cent of 2,390,000 in each year since 1930 and may well continue within this range. Present indications are, therefore, that the 6 to 13 group will number 17,500,000 to 17,800,000 in 1950 compared with about 18,029,000 in 1940, a decline of 1.5 to 3.0 per cent.

From the standpoint of number of pupils, then, the elementary schools should not face as great a shrinkage in the demand for their services during the coming decade as during the past decade. In 1930 the rate of school enrollment was so high in this group (91.6 per cent) that it was practically impossible for an increase in enrollment rate to offset the decrease in number of children.⁴ As a result, recent years have seen a decrease in the nation as a whole in the number of elementary-school teachers needed. Although the downward trend

⁴ It might have occurred among southern Negroes, however, since only 80.25 per cent of the 6- to 13-year-olds in this group were attending school in 1930, according to the Census.

will continue during the present decade, it will be less abrupt in most places. As in the past, however, there will be some areas with large increases and others with large decreases in elementary-school population and in number of teachers needed

If high-school enrollment is not to decline in the nation during the 1940's, it will be necessary to raise the proportion of "teeners" attending by over one sixth. According to the Census, 61.6 per cent of the 14- to 17-year-olds were enrolled in 1920 and 73.1 per cent in 1930. Quite likely there has been an increase to 80 or 85 per cent by 1940. Offsetting the 15 per cent decrease in youngsters of high-school age during the 1940's by adding 15 per cent to the proportion in school may thus be theoretically possible, but it certainly will be extremely difficult to carry out in the nation as a whole. The realistic outlook is that the decrease in elementary-school enrollment which has gone on in recent years in the United States will begin to affect the high schools during the 1940's. Moreover, the decrease will be large unless the rate of school enrollment is raised substantially. States which have made the most progress in this respect to date—the Pacific, Mountain, and East North Central States—probably will find further progress more difficult than the other States and hence may have the largest decreases in number of high-school pupils unless they receive migrants from other States in considerable numbers. Because of the greater tendency to expand the curricula in high schools than in elementary schools, the decrease in the number of high-school pupils may not reduce the demand for high-school teachers as much as has the decrease in elementary pupils. It is more likely, however, that many high-school teachers will be asked to teach additional subjects, hence that the teaching force will be reduced without narrowing the curricula.

As far as the number of potential students is concerned, colleges will face a simpler problem than high schools during the 1940's. Not only will the rate of decline in the age group be smaller, 8.4

per cent instead of 15 per cent, but there is a much larger opportunity to increase the proportion continuing their education. The Census shows 14.8 per cent of persons aged 18 to 20 attending school in 1920, 21.4 per cent in 1930,⁸ and may show 25 to 30 per cent in 1940. To offset the decrease in this age group during the 1940's it will be necessary to raise the proportion of these youths in school by only about one ninth. Whether it can be done probably depends in large measure on economic conditions and perhaps on the program of military training which is developed, but at least it is well within the realm of possibility. Evidently the tendency of the decrease in births to lower the number of college students and teachers can be postponed for many years to come.

How the 1,800,000 decrease from 1940 to 1950 in the number of children 6 to 17 will be divided between rural and urban areas is a matter on which opinions differ, and which depends in part on differences in the trend of the birth rate in rural and urban areas, but chiefly on rural-urban migration. Considering birth-rate trends, there are several reasons for believing that the decline will be more rapid among the rural population than the urban. In the first place, it is believed by most students of population that the decline in the birth rate for over a century has been brought about chiefly through an increase in the practice of contraception. Information about contraceptive methods is thought to have become available more readily to city dwellers than country dwellers, which in turn is held to be one of the main reasons why the birth rate has long been lower in urban than in rural areas. Since most married couples want some children, the decline in size of family within a population group should gradually slow down and perhaps even come to an end as contraceptive practices become widespread among that group. There is evidence that this situation is being reached more rapidly

⁸ No data regarding the number of persons 21 years of age attending school were published in these Censuses.

in the urban population than in the rural population. For several years to come, therefore, it is to be expected that the rural birth rate will decline more rapidly than the urban.

The trend of fertility in urban and rural areas during recent decades is in line with the above. This can best be seen by observing the number of children under five years of age per 1,000 women 20 to 44.⁴ For urban native white women the ratio was 399 in 1910 and 380 in 1930, a decline of 4.8 per cent, but for rural native white women the ratios were 779 and 683, a decline of 12.3 per cent. A similar change occurred among Negroes, the urban ratio declining only 2.7 per cent (from 365 to 355) but the rural ratio dropping 17.1 per cent (from 950 to 788). Among foreign-born white women the rural and urban ratios declined at about the same rate (28.1 and 26.7 per cent, respectively), but the proportion of these women living in rural areas has been so small in recent years that the trend in their fertility is not of much importance. Exact information about the changes in the native white and Negro ratios since 1930 is not yet available, but the indications are that the decline has continued to be more rapid in rural areas than in urban areas. A similar trend is to be expected during the next few years, hence, as far as birth rates are concerned, the elementary-school population should decrease in numbers more rapidly in rural areas than in urban areas from the present time to 1950.

The probable effect of migration during the 1940's on the increase or decrease of rural children of elementary- and high-school age is more difficult to evaluate. If the migration rate of the 1920's is followed, approximately 500,000 children in this group will shift from rural to urban areas. But if the rate resembles more closely that of the 1930's the net rural-urban shift for this group will involve less

⁴ The ratios used in this comparison are adjusted for the underenumeration of children and standardized for age of women. They were prepared under the direction of Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems and were published in *Population Statistics, 1. National Data* (Washington, D. C. National Resources Committee), October 1937, pp. 40-50.

than 300,000 children. Events during recent months indicate a partial return to conditions of the 1920's when urban industry was booming, incomes of city workers were high, and large numbers of people were attracted from rural areas. It remains to be seen, however, how long the great stimulus of preparing for defense will remain in effect, and whether more normal peacetime activities can maintain the present rapid pace of industry if "preparedness" slackens.

Even if industrial activity remains at a high level throughout the decade, it is questionable whether the larger cities will gain by migration as they did during the 1920's. For one thing, many of the additions to present factories and still more of the new factories are being located in small cities and rural areas, usually in the area surrounding a larger city but sometimes far from one. Undoubtedly, the tendency to avoid large cities on the part of persons influencing the location of industry is due in part to military reasons—the belief that concentration increases the chance of damage by bombing. But in part it may result from a realization that large numbers of people think they can live cheaper outside of crowded city areas, like it better to boot, and hence may be cheaper to hire and easier to manage if living in the country.

Thanks in part to *Grapes of Wrath*, attention has been called to several disturbing aspects of the "Dust Bowl" migration during the 1930's more than to the problem faced by the schools in attempting to educate the children of these migrant families. While this migration resulted primarily from climatic and economic conditions, and while the abnormalities of the former are particularly difficult to anticipate, it is probable that the present decade will not present similar problems on as large a scale. Perhaps the nearest approach will be in such localities as Charleston, Indiana, and other rural areas where a large "defense" industry is being developed.

With the above exceptions, it seems probable that the migration pattern of the 1940's will resemble more closely that of the 1930's

than that of the 1920's, but will be on a smaller scale. A decline in the amount of net rural-urban movement may offset the more rapid decrease in the rural birth rate than the urban, and mean that the number of children of elementary- and high-school age will decline at about the same rate in rural and urban areas during the 1940's.

The decrease in the children and increase in the total population during the last decade has resulted in a sharp drop in the ratio of the former to the latter. Taking 7 to 17 as the school ages⁷ and 20 to 64 as the productive ages, the school population per 100 producers in the United States declined slowly from 40.0 in 1920 to 38.8 in 1930 and then fell to about 33.2 in 1940. Judging from past birth-rate trends, the decline will continue to be rapid during the 1940's, and the ratio will be about 27.5 in 1950. As far as numbers of pupils are concerned, therefore, the burden of education to be carried by the working population is considerably lighter now than ten years ago, and should be lightened relatively more in the next ten years. Improving the quality of education, however, may increase the cost per child more than enough to offset the saving through fewer children.

The ratio of school-age population to producing-age population has varied widely between areas, chiefly because of migration and birth-rate differentials. Rural areas in particular have faced a much bigger educational task than urban areas. In 1920 urban areas had 31.5 children 7 to 17 per 100 adults 20 to 64, but rural areas had 51.0, an excess of over sixty per cent. The difference narrowed slightly by 1930, the urban ratio then being 31.8 and the rural ratio 49.6. During the past decade the rural ratio dropped somewhat more than the urban, nevertheless the 1940 rural ratio of about 42.0 is over fifty per cent above the urban ratio of about 27.4.

Such differences in the ratios of children to adults are excellent reasons for not expecting each school district to pay all the costs of

⁷ These ages are chosen instead of those used earlier because Census data are available for them by urban and rural areas in 1920 and 1930.

educating its children, and for equalizing the burden at least partially by using State or Federal funds. The argument for such programs is strengthened greatly by the fact that an important proportion of the children educated in the rural schools spend most of their working life in urban communities, while there is relatively little migration in the opposite direction. Since it is to the great advantage of urban communities that the migrants they receive have as much education as will "take," they should be glad to help the rural communities where the burden is heavy relative to resources.

During the next few years such programs should be strengthened and broadened. While population trends should lessen slightly the need for such help, present efforts have fallen short of equalizing the differentials between rural and urban areas in many States. If State lines are disregarded in this comparison—as they are by a high proportion of rural-urban migrants—large differences are common. To make one comparison of many, the school-age-working-age-population ratio was 56.3 in rural Kentucky in 1930 compared with 31.7 in urban Ohio to which it has sent thousands of migrants. The only way for interstate equalization is through Federal aid. To date this has been confined chiefly to grants from the George-Deen and Smith-Hughes funds. George-Deen funds for courses on distribution go almost entirely to urban schools, which from a population standpoint need Federal aid much less than rural schools. Smith-Hughes money goes chiefly to schools in small towns and rural areas but on too small a scale to do much toward equalizing the large rural excess in the ratio of children to producers. From a population standpoint, therefore, the need is great for much larger Federal grants toward elementary- and high-school education in coming years.

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EDUCATION AND THE RECENT WESTERN MIGRATION

LESTER A. KIRKENDALL

Migratory population movements are as old as mankind, nor are they new in the United States. What is new is the increasingly large number of those leaving their homes in search of a better livelihood and the difficulty they are finding in reestablishing themselves. Migratory people, recruited from all economic levels and most occupational groups, are found in every State of the Union. The Arizona cotton picker, the cranberry picker in New Jersey bogs, the field worker on the Connecticut tobacco farms, the day laborer in the Oregon plywood mills, the chain-store manager, the roving bridge builder, the temporarily stationed army officer, the school teacher and her superintendent are all a part of the migratory horde.

Migrant movements are not synonymous with roving. Some migrants are rovers, staying at the best a few weeks in one place, while other migrants, like the school teacher, the minister, or the building constructor, live in a community a year—even years—yet, anticipating the time when they will move on, never become a part of it. Of recent years this migratory movement has been accelerated by the effects of drought, unemployment, and depression. Just now booming national defense activities have accelerated the movement of people. From the conscripts concentrated in training camps with their satellite groups, good and bad, to mushroom developments around such centers of defense activity as Hartford, San Diego, and Seattle, the defense program has resulted in further migratory movements. These movements include laborers, clerical workers, scientists, technicians, and professional people.

This discussion will center on the educational problems in California and the Pacific Northwest, where there has been an enormous influx of migrants, most of whom enter the ranks of manual labor. The composition of the migrant group has changed. Formerly most

of the migrant farm laborers in the Pacific Coast States were Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, and Filipinos. Today the migrants are predominately native white Americans. Many of the families making the westward trek were once small farm owners or tenants from the southern Great Plains region, or substantial farmers and land owners from the northern Great Plains. These people were driven from their homes by the drought of 1934 and succeeding years.

The Farm Security Administration reports a study¹ made in California of 6,655 migrant families. Most of these people came from the States of Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. (Migration seems to be along longitudinal lines. The records of the Farm Security Administration at Portland, Oregon, show that over nine tenths of the migrant families coming into Oregon, Washington, and Idaho originate north of the Kansas-Oklahoma border. Oregon and Washington are now beginning to receive people from Oklahoma and Arkansas, who came originally to California.) Many of these families left homes in which they had been long established. Virtually all of them were looking for work and were very reluctant to accept relief. Most of the heads of families were young people in their best working years, their average age being thirty-three years. Other authorities feel that the average migrant family would be found to have two or three children of elementary-school age.

The age composition of these families has important educational implications. First, there are a large number of children of school age needing an education. Second, there are children yet to be born and educated—for the families of migrants are evidently often incomplete. Parents as youthful as the average migrant parents may be expected to bear at least another child.

The migratory movement has reached vast proportions. While estimates vary, the Federal Farm Security Administration states that at least 350,000 families composed of over a million men, women,

¹ *Migrant Farm Labor*, United States Department of Agriculture (Washington, D. C.: Farm Security Administration, 1940).

and children are today wandering from place to place in an attempt to eke out a living.² The California Chamber of Commerce estimates are still higher—1,200,000 migrants in the last ten years.³ More than 850,000 have arrived in the last five years.⁴ In the Pacific Northwest a half-million migrants have arrived since 1930, and they still come at the rate of 120 daily.⁵

Migratory populations have raised a regular welter of educational problems—most of which are unsolved. The problem of rapidly increasing enrollments is the most striking, consequently the most frequently mentioned, result. While the rate of increase varies some communities have had their school populations double within four or five years. One school in Marysville, California, grew from an enrollment of 69 in 1934-1935 to 409 in 1939-1940. Perhaps the banner goes to one school in which the enrollment increased from 70 in September to 325 in March, an increase of 364 per cent.⁶

Special schools for migratory children have been set up in certain districts, but they are usually overcrowded, with inadequate buildings, toilet and drinking facilities, and with poor or no equipment. Playgrounds are poorly drained, muddy, and lacking in shade and play apparatus. One school of 67 pupils had one teacher for all eight grades.⁷

With mounting enrollments, rapidly increasing expenditures for education are necessary. In many instances a local community must bear an unduly heavy burden because the community has become

² *Migrant Farm Labor*, op cit

³ *Migrants, A National Problem and Impact on California*, California State Chamber of Commerce (Sacramento, California: The State Chamber of Commerce, 1940)

⁴ Statement summarizing the Report and Recommendations of the Migrant Committee of the California Chamber of Commerce. Presented before the Special House Committee Investigating the Interstate Migration of the Destitute Citizens. Hearings in San Francisco, California, September 24 and 25, 1940

⁵ John Blanchard, *Caravans to the Northwest* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940).

⁶ Mrs. Jewell Potter, "Teacher and Migrant," *Sierra Educational News*, 34:26, October 1938

⁷ Mrs. Isabel Pedro, "Teaching the Migratory," *Sierra Educational News*, 36:34-35, March 1938

the center of a migrant community. In Marysville, California, a crossroads and headquarters for large numbers of migrants, new buildings, new equipment, more teachers, and other school facilities are furnished almost wholly at the expense of the permanent residents. The migrants themselves are unable to furnish any of the necessary financial support through taxation—in fact they are often pressed to supply their children with the necessary clothing and accessories for school. Their level of living is very low, their incomes usually ranging from \$200 to \$450 annually.⁸ No wonder that school facilities for the children of migrant families are not all they might be. Nor is it any wonder that local residents are seeking to convince the representatives of other cities in the State that the problem must be solved on a State-wide basis. Such conditions also provide another argument for Federal equalization of education.

New school legislation, of which only the general outlines are discernible, must necessarily result from the migratory movement. Attendance regulations must be revised and enforced, and provisions made to facilitate the transfer of children from one district to another. The relation of the State to the local district will have to be altered and clarified in many respects. Provisions for financing of larger units on a different basis are probably on the way. The Bankhead-Black Act now permits payments in lieu of taxes to be made to local taxing bodies by migratory labor camps, so that the Federal Government contributes some funds for educational programs provided by the local communities.

From these three factors—shifting and increasing enrollments, mounting educational expenditures, and the need for different legislative provisions—grows the need for comprehensive, long-term planning on a sectional if not national scale. Though much local planning needs to be done, these problems can never be met by single communities. Conferences of school officials, labor officials and representatives, legislators, and others closely associated with

⁸ *Migrant Farm Labor*, *op cit*

the migrant situation for a study of all phases of the problem are needed. Fortunately some of this work is already being done.

The retardation of pupils is another very serious result of migration. Numerous investigations have shown that the school achievement of migratory pupils lags from one to two years behind the children of permanent residents. In a survey of 1,406 school children of Kern County, California, in which 48 per cent of the pupils were classified as migratory, the regularly enrolled pupils ranked from 0.1 grade higher in grade placement in the second grade to 1.3 grades higher in grade eight on reading achievement tests. The difference in the average age of migratory pupils and the regular pupils was obtained in each grade. From the first grade through the eighth the average age of the migratory pupils was higher, ranging from a difference of four months in the first grade to twenty-one months in the fifth grade. After the fifth grade the age difference decreased but the situation became even more serious, for the retarded pupils averaged sixteen months older than those pupils who excelled them.⁹

The intellectual level of migratory children is often suggested as the reason for their retardation. The evidence is conflicting. Beach and Beach¹⁰ tested 70 children coming from transient families and found their average I.Q. to be 103.73. Since the migrant group now includes many people who have once been either completely or semi-independent, and able to make their own way under ordinary circumstances, it is probable that the average intellectual capacity of the migratory children is about the same as that of a stationary group. Over 80 per cent of the Midwestern farm families coming to Oregon, Washington, and Idaho have an eighth-grade education or better.

Probably one of the chief causes for retardation is the scanty and

⁹ D. Theodore Dawes, "Migratory Children," *Sierra Educational News*, 34, 121, September 1938.

¹⁰ Allen W. Beach and Walter G. Beach, "Family Migratoriness and Child Behavior," *Sociology and Social Research*, 21, 503-523, July-August 1937.

irregular schooling received by so many of the migrant children. Add to this the lack of incentive for study which their type of life induces, the emotional problems resulting from the lack of security, frequent moving, inadequate home life, malnutrition, lack of clothing, lack of community ties, and the quality of schooling received and one probably has the chief causes for school retardation. Sometimes parents or children seize upon a move as an opportunity to secure a grade advancement for a child, particularly for one already retarded. The child coming to school without credentials may tell the teacher that he should have fifth-grade placement rather than fourth. When such placement is denied, however justly, the child often feels that he has been ill-treated.

The alleviation of retardation is another matter. Whether the answer is the establishment of permanent Government camps, with provision of special schools for migrants, or some other plan, some solution must be found if the children of migrant families are to be made a well-educated, integral part of a democratic society.

The effects of migratory life upon the habits, beliefs, standards of value, and attitudes of people have not been clearly charted. Certainly a nomadic existence has an influence upon the behavior patterns of the mobile groups, as compared with those who have an established residence.¹¹ Families living in the same place for a long period of time have an opportunity to build certain associations, to accumulate property, and to reflect community customs and values in their behavior patterns. Denied this stability the migratory individuals or families must work out a set of values and a behavior pattern to fit their mode of living. Beach and Beach¹² studied ninety families, migratory and nonmigratory, to determine which of seventeen different factors were more important to one group of families than the other. The transient families ranked medical care much higher than did the stationary families, and geographical associa-

¹¹ Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927)

¹² Allen W. Beach and Walter G. Beach, *op cit*

tions and relatives somewhat higher. The transient families rated friends and immovable possessions somewhat lower and family associations and real property much lower than did the established families. The transient families rated only five items as having a greater importance than "some importance" while the stationary families rated all seventeen above this level. In other words, the migratory families held considerably less store by the seventeen factors than did the nontransient group. One can only speculate on these findings, but migrancy seems to provide fewer values in living than does permanent residence. Human relationships and possessions are of less importance, while medical care, probably as a means of sustaining life, becomes much more important.

Beach and Beach also studied the attitudes of children of migratory workers and of established families, and found the attitude of the former to be poorer with respect to fellow pupils, teachers, and school. They were less able and less willing to enter into play with others, they show a tendency to follow lines of least resistance, a facility for making acquaintances readily, and resentment and antagonism characterized by an assumption of superiority.

In a dozen ways the migrant situation is made to order for creating resentments. If the migratory children are separated from the children of the regular residents in the schools, then an invidious class system is set up. If the two groups are thrown together, then the teachers and pupils have to deal with groups that are too large, in which shifting of pupils prevents proper instruction and the range of individual differences is enormous. Often the progress of the entire class is slowed up by the retardation of migrant children, or some children are unable to secure an education as the result of pressure on the schools. Such situations create resentments in both parents and children of the regular residents while the migratory children are sometimes resentful because of the unequal task which is set for them.

The policy of educating a group of children of migrant families

wholly at the expense of State or local residents is certain to meet increasing resistance. One may expect to meet with increasing frequency the argument advanced in a recent report of a Special Committee of the New York State Chamber of Commerce on Economical and Efficient Education.¹³ This report definitely calls for a curtailment of educational opportunity for certain children, and remarks that "it is a fair question whether the state should bear all the expense or whether parents who are amply able to educate their own youngsters should pay for it.

"In not carrying students too far and in having parents who are able to do so pay the cost of all education beyond illiteracy is found a means of reducing the cost (of education) "

It is only a step from this public pronouncement to the argument that the children of low-income groups should be provided only with enough education to banish illiteracy regardless of the financial status of the parents. This argument has been voiced more than once in private.

Often teachers and administrators must care for urgent physical and psychological needs when the migratory pupil enters school. Often the child needs the simplest and most rudimentary things. When he becomes ragged, dirty, sometimes hungry, weary, uncertain of the future, and psychologically despondent his immediate needs must be met. To learn to wash his hands before meals, to have provided for him nutritious foods (one California school provided a tent kitchen in which the pupils and teacher were permitted to prepare their own lunch), to learn to play with others, and above all to receive sympathy and understanding represent important contributions which teachers can make to these children.

In some schools where children from migrant families are present in numbers large enough, they form groups of their own to afford security and to satisfy the need for belonging since they are not accepted by children of the resident families. The "Oakies" and

¹³ See *Social Frontier*, October 15, 1940, p. 4

"Arkies" band together for their own social activities and to build group unity. Sometimes relations between these groups of migratory children and resident children are amiable; sometimes not. In other schools where perhaps the school authorities have been able to facilitate the process of social absorption the migratory children are assimilated with comparative ease, and no cleavage exists. School authorities testified repeatedly that the children of migrant families did not create discipline problems. On the whole they are found to be amenable, ready to coöperate, and extremely appreciative of the things done for them.

In the high school the major problem is to build a curriculum that will meet the needs of the children and appeal to them. Few, very few, have any hopes of going to college. Their migratory life prevents much reading and any continuous contact with current affairs. Their vocational aspirations are necessarily low. The high schools, therefore, face the important problem of ministering to immediate needs and interests. A functional program built in terms of the peculiar needs of this group is essential if these children are ever to be interested in school.

Another pressing problem is that of social and educational guidance. The need of helping these students to find themselves, to stir incentives where none seem to exist, to adjust them satisfactorily to the social program of the school, and to harmonize the interests and aspirations of children of migratory groups and those of established residents poses some real guidance problems. The problem of providing a functional curriculum to meet the peculiar needs of these pupils raises even greater problems of organizing the program of instruction and securing a faculty personnel capable of putting it into operation.

A great deal of educational work with migrant people is carried on by nonschool and informal agencies. This type of education will probably be expanded since it lends itself much more readily than does formal education to the peculiar conditions of migrant life.

Migrants in Federal Farm Security camps are subject to some supervision relating to health and sanitation. These measures provide a degree of education for those subject to them, especially since the problem is approached as an educational matter. These camps also provide recreational and social activities for old and young. These opportunities help the participants to maintain their social attitudes and interests. In the Federal camps, through cooperative governing organizations, efforts are made to educate the residents concerning the problems of cooperative group activity, so that all may understand the problems of community control. Evening gatherings of various types, forums, religious gatherings, and occasional lectures provide further educational opportunities. Library facilities are also available in some cases.

Certain other public and private agencies have concerned themselves with the problem of educating the migrant family. Among the private agencies the Council of Women for Home Missions has worked to establish health and recreational programs. Other projects have included the formation of mother's clubs for the study of infant care and feeding and clothing a family. They have assisted in providing Sunday school and church services, and have helped in setting up nursery schools and camp schools. In other places community centers have been set up. These agencies carry on among the migrants a regular program of social work with a strong educational emphasis. In many communities local churches, welfare agencies, social workers, and Government agencies carry on health, rehabilitation, and recreational programs which have at the same time educational benefits.

One of the crying educational needs is for some agency to assist in acquainting both the local communities and the nation with the kind of people found in the migrant groups. One of our real needs is to understand the migrant. *Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck has dramatized the plight of a great many of the migrants, but it has also left the impression that all migrants are Joads, culturally

and educationally. This is far from the actual truth. Some families are undoubtedly accurately characterized by the Joads, but many more have reached a much higher level and have much greater potentialities. Many more studies similar to the one of the 6,655 families, mentioned above, are needed. Also specific case histories giving enough information to show the general level of the family are essential. While a single case history cannot be used to characterize an entire group of people with such a range of ability, background, and experience, the following is one which in its general outlines could be duplicated often. This case history¹⁴ shows the path which for one family led to the bean fields of central western Oregon.

James Miller, age 32, his wife, and five-year-old daughter spent the month of August 1940 in the Farm Security Administration mobile camp at West Stayton, Oregon. This camp housed part of the itinerant bean pickers of the vicinity. Mr. Miller was born and reared in eastern Tennessee. After graduation from high school, he went to a barber school. In 1927 he went to western Oklahoma when he found an opening in a local barber shop. By careful and thrifty management he succeeded by 1930 in establishing himself in his own barber shop in the same town. He also married at this time.

As the depression increased in intensity, going became harder, but Mr. Miller held his barber shop until 1937. Then a combination of circumstances—lessened trade, increased competition, accounts not collectible, a mortgage falling due, and increased living expenses (the Miller's daughter was born in 1935)—made it necessary that he give up the shop.

Mr. Miller then opened another barber shop where he remained for a few months. Being unable to make ends meet, he moved again but the second move brought no more success. Thereupon the family decided to try their fortune in California. Arriving there in 1938 they got a job working on a large ranch. Financially they got along fairly well but certain conditions were very unsatisfactory. Much of the time both Mr. and Mrs. Miller worked, especially when "catting" (driving large caterpillar tractors). The work was very difficult for Mrs. Miller, and much of the time

¹⁴ This case history was supplied by Mr. Miller (name fictitious) himself in a conversation with the author, who was visiting the Farm Security Administration camp at West Stayton, Oregon.

their daughter had to be left with such inadequate supervision that it amounted practically to leaving her alone. Moreover the job held no future nor any security.

During the year they planned and looked forward to a job which would permit them to establish a permanent residence with a home of their own and a place in the community as they had once had. Too, their daughter would be ready for school in a few years, so they wanted a place where life could be stabilized and satisfactory educational facilities available.

In the fall of 1939 Mr. Miller found a filling station on one of the main highways in which, after lengthy consideration, they invested the savings made by "catting." Overhead expenses and unexpected replacements of equipment conspired to make this venture a failure and in May 1940, just seven months after taking over the station, they were closed out. After paying off debts the family had their car and \$21 clear.

Most of this money was spent in getting to Nyssa, Oregon, where Mr. and Mrs. Miller secured a job hoeing in the beets. Here they made about \$60 with which they purchased a cheap trailer and thus provided themselves with better living quarters. About July 1 they went to Idaho where they picked berries. Here they made very little, and what they did save was required to purchase two second-hand tires for the trailer and to get them to western Oregon.

Fortunately, they secured work at once. The third week of August, both picking, they made \$4.37. This had been a poor week, for several mornings the beans had been too wet to pick. Then, too, the season was getting fairly well along and the heaviest of the crop had already been picked. They were expecting to move on shortly to hop picking.

In discussing his situation, Mr. Miller seemed optimistic. He had hopes of "getting some breaks" and, if he did, he and his wife together might be able "to make enough to put us on our feet again." The plan they had in mind was to look for some small farm which they might rent and settle in. He felt that there was no longer a chance of making a living at barbering, and he also believed that his skill was badly deteriorated.

When communities understand the migrants well enough to appreciate the excellent qualities and potentialities of a large majority of these people, and are willing to accept and help integrate them into community life, a long step forward will have been taken. To

have two groups of people, the migratory and the stationary groups, living in such close proximity and yet in such widely different worlds is certain to breed dislikes and hatreds, to react to the psychological detriment of both groups, and to produce undemocratic class divisions.

Beyond the problems just discussed are broader issues which must be thought through before sound policies can be set up. Both formal and informal sources of education, schools and universities, forums, radio discussions, and literature should raise these questions, and assist citizens in understanding them.

One of the most important issues relates to the values which should be sought in our social and economic organization. Is our planning to be wholly in terms of economic and productive values, or is it to be built about the concept that sometimes a charge shall be placed against the most economic and efficient method of production to ensure better living conditions, improve family happiness and stability, establish wider educational opportunities, and create community cohesion and unity? Are all of these latter values dependent upon economic enterprise, or does economic well-being depend a great deal upon the extent to which these values are realized? Are our productive potentialities such as to make it possible to maintain a high level of living with respect to material good, and yet hope for these social gains? Unfortunately the war situation is making the answers to these questions much more difficult to reach, while at the same time making their solution more necessary. The Educational Policies Commission in *Education and Economic Well-Being* points to the need for education to promote occupational mobility.¹⁸ Mobility, it is argued, is essential to optimum economic welfare. Yet, when is the optimum degree of mobility from the economic and social point of view reached? How is it ascertained and secured? What type of education will most likely promote this de-

¹⁸ *Education and Economic Well-Being*, Educational Policies Commission (Washington, D. C., Educational Policies Commission, 1940).

gree of mobility? Such questions are particularly important for educators, policy makers, and influential citizens

The whole question of planning and social direction is raised. Some people have a nebulous hope that a return of "normal" conditions will solve the problem with no further social effort, forgetting that there has never been a "normal" situation and that the changes of the past decade would prevent any retreat to this "normal" state had it ever existed.

The problem of migrancy is one with which we shall have to deal increasingly. A cessation of war, increasing mechanization of agricultural and industrial activities, improved transportation facilities, and shifting occupational patterns are other factors which will accentuate migration. No longer can communities isolate themselves educationally any more than they can remain aloof from the associations growing out of transportation and communication.

Lester A. Kirkendall, himself farm-reared and a migrant, left a teaching position in his home town in the western Kansas Dust Bowl in 1933 to take his graduate work in Columbia University. In 1935 he began college teaching in Connecticut. The material for this article has been gathered while teaching in the University of Colorado, Colorado State College of Education, the University of Washington, and the University of Oregon. The author's chief interest is the study of such social problems as migrancy in their relation to education.

COMMUNITY HEALTH PROBLEM VITALIZES THE CLASSROOM

G. E. TULLY

Students in the eighth grade of the P. K. Yonge Laboratory School of the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, recently took an active part in stimulating community interest in a major community problem. Recognition by the students of the problem, the need for the community and the surrounding area to control more effectively communicable diseases, and a plan for doing something about this problem were outgrowths of recent investigations in community problems by this eighth-grade group. A description of this community venture may furnish data as to the relative values that may result from student effort to take part in community affairs. Even though this description of the attempt of a group of students to improve a community does not suggest an original or novel way for accomplishing such an objective, perhaps it tends to indicate that experiences in the school and in the community may be brought together to comprise a significant total learning situation.

In the P. K. Yonge Laboratory School, students in grade eight have three hours of a total school day of six and one-half hours given over to learning experiences in the "core curriculum." The core curriculum is that part of the school day during which learning experiences based on social problems believed to be significant for the students take place. Students are expected to assist in planning their experiences in the core, and to work toward the acquisition of certain understandings in subject-matter fields, skills, and attitudes. The use of a variety of material and participation in a wide range of activities are encouraged by instructors in the core curriculum.

General plans for work in the core are formulated by the instructors. Specific units or problems of study are selected by the students, working together with their instructors, from the general plans for each grade. Chosen for study in grade eight was the unit: "How

Man Has Sought to Conquer Diseases." During a planning period that followed the selection of the topic, the investigation was divided into two phases—one a historical survey of man's progress in seeking to control diseases, and the other a study of the progress being made in the local area toward the fight against diseases. Activities designed to aid in the development of these two phases of the study were listed, and materials (such as references, health surveys, governmental pamphlets, films, etc.) that offered promise of value for the study were gathered by the students.

The students compiled the results of their historical survey of man's achievements in the struggle to master disease in a written summary. This summary revealed that man has a sufficient knowledge of nearly all diseases to effect either a complete or partial control. Soon after the beginning of the second phase of the study, the fact was apparent to the students that man has had far more success in acquiring a knowledge of means to control diseases than he has had in making use of this knowledge in fighting diseases among all classes of people. Conditions in the community were in support of this generalization. Tuberculosis, hookworm, syphilis, as well as other communicable diseases, were found to be widespread. The students were amazed and alarmed to find that their county had one of the highest death rates in the State from tuberculosis and syphilis. This finding was increasingly revealing when the students learned that Florida as a State had one of the highest death rates in the country, when compared to other States. In a summary of a survey of health conditions in the county, the students wrote, "The statistics point to the fact that we are considerably behind the times and we have not yet given science a fair chance in the battle."

The health and physical-education instructor had been consulted frequently by the students during this investigation and to this instructor the students turned again in their search for a way to do something about this serious health problem. The health instructor responded by assisting the students to plan and carry out a detailed

study of the health facilities in the county. The students found that a health clinic maintained by a municipality bore most of the burden for controlling diseases. Convinced that such a system was inadequate, and that a plan for county-wide supervision of health was needed, the students sought a way to help remedy this problem.

They talked with the chairman of a committee in the community which advocated a county health unit for the supervision and control of communicable diseases. A course of action for the students to follow in order to "do something" was now apparent. Could they not assist the committee in giving publicity to the need for a county health unit? In answer to this question, the students, working with their instructors, decided to write a play based on a theme showing a need for a county-wide health unit to fight against disease.

A student teacher volunteered to assist the students in producing this play. A number of student committees were formed and each committee assumed a specific task. Plans for publicity for the play and arrangements for stage properties were made by committees. The play, too, was written by a group of students. The work of these committees was coördinated as nearly as possible by the core instructor, the health and physical-education instructor, and the student teacher. These instructors made an effort to assist all of the students in taking an active part in the production of the play.

The one-room house of indigent Florida tenant farmers was chosen as the setting for the first act. This setting was chosen, inasmuch as tenant farmers appear to be the people who suffer under the existing health situation. The student teacher observed that, when the students began to suggest lines for this setting, the influence of motion pictures and "type" stories hampered free expression. Gradually, however, the students shook themselves away from the things they had seen in photoplays and had read in stories, and began to see the stark, real problems caused by frequent sickness that confront the poor family in a rural section.

The play was finally written after about two weeks of endeavor.

In its final form, it was far from an inspiring and polished literary creation. The students had even made use of the old device of the ridiculous villain and his foil. They were proud of the play, however, and justly so. With the use of clever dialogue, the neophyte play writers had dramatized in a fairly realistic manner a situation that could be the lot of any poor family with miserably low economic status. The play was intended to show a need for a county health unit; to the reader of the play this need was revealed with a reasonably effective force that was comparatively free of melodrama.

Copies were made of the two summaries prepared by the class containing the findings of the surveys made by the students. These were distributed to all instructors in the school who were requested to pass them out to the students. Most of the instructors, however, did more than this, and discussed the findings set forth in the summaries with their groups. These materials were given out through the school in an effort to give explanation of the purpose of the play, which was to be given at a regular school assembly.

The play was well received by the student body. Soon after the play was given the first time, an invitation came from another school in the community for the play to be given there. This request was followed by a similar one from a third school. At the conclusion of these visits to schools in the community, approximately one thousand students had seen the play and had heard the findings of the surveys.

Perhaps the chief value resulting from the play was that the students were given an opportunity to make a significant contribution in the drive for making the community a better place in which to live. Other values that perhaps were realized were the development of oral expression as well as certain other skills in the language arts. Also, an opportunity was afforded students and instructors to engage in a coöperative enterprise.

Perhaps no one in the school was as happy about the whole project as were the two instructors and the student teacher. In

schoolwork since this play the students seem to be more sensitive to social values. Some attempt is being made to determine the social beliefs held by the students. Then, too, the class appears to be anxious to take an active part in planning learning experiences within the frame suggested by the instructors. It would not be correct to say that all of these desirable outgrowths were suddenly developed by this participation in community problems. Perhaps the experience made the instructors more sensitive to the potentialities of the group. Although a definite cause-effect relationship at this point is not intended, there is reason to believe that the survey-play project was significant and enriching both to the students and instructors.

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RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

RESEARCH PROJECTS OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

The American Youth Commission, now directed by Floyd W. Reeves, will complete its six-year period on June 30, 1941, but its project for rural youth will continue in operation until June 30, 1942.¹

This latest major undertaking of the Commission is another effort to implement the findings regarding rural youth by providing consultation, advice, and stimulation to meritorious local enterprises in various communities, and to provide similar services looking toward improved co-ordination of governmental departments and private agencies at the State level in four States—Michigan, Iowa, Virginia, and Georgia.

The method involves much correspondence, much travel on the part of representatives of the Commission, and many conferences with local leaders and local youth. In localities where the undertaking takes root, it develops into a demonstration of how a superior job can be done by and for the local youth in whatever field may be receiving emphasis, whether it be improved education, guidance, employment opportunities, recreation, health, or a combination of any or all of these. In fact, a point of heavy emphasis is community-wide cooperation among the several agencies engaged in these different functions, as well as among individuals of all ages.

In its numerous earlier studies the Commission used (1) field surveys, (2) testing programs, (3) case studies of individuals, (4) case studies of communities, (5) experiment and demonstration at the community level, (6) correspondence and documentation, and (7) a synchronized program of implementation. Several or all of these methods were used in concur-

¹ This statement is provided through the courtesy of M. M. Chambers, member of staff, American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

rent combination. For example, all of them were used to some extent in the Commission's studies of adolescent Negroes with special reference to their personality development, in several regions of the United States, including the rural South, a southern urban locality, large northern cities, and localities in border States.

In some of these areas the method was chiefly that of case studies, built up by repeated interviews with the subjects and with their parents and teachers, by interviewers trained in psychology and psychiatry, and familiar with the locale. In other areas this technique was supplemented by a school-testing program and field survey embracing some 2,000 Negro youth, and also by field surveys of local socio-economic conditions. In all the areas the sustained case study was used as the principal means of gaining an insight into the personality development of the individual subjects. Other undertakings of the Commission now in progress include a study of employment and unemployment among young people, carried on with the aid of economists and statisticians, a continuation of the implementation program through various media of communication; and the drafting of a one-volume final report for eventual adoption.

Other projects of the Council related to the care and education of youth. The Commission on Teacher Education, directed by Karl W. Bigelow, is now at the high noon of its six-year period (1938-1943). Its characteristic method is that of stimulating a great variety of experiments and innovations on the part of the institutions of higher education and public-school systems (numbering 34 in all) which have entered into continuing coöperative relations with it. Also, in three States—New York, Michigan, and Georgia—the Commission is sponsoring State-wide undertakings in which all institutions concerned with teacher education participate. It keeps in close touch with all the coöperating agencies through a small central staff of field coordinators and special consultants. Emphasis is upon the improvement of practices in teacher education through this means, in which the initiative of the coöperating institutions plays a large part, rather than solely through the collection of information by a central national staff. The Commission also has a division on child development and teacher personnel with headquarters at the University of Chicago, and has recently inaugurated on a modest scale an enterprise in the field of college-teacher education.

Two other research projects under the auspices of the Council which use the technique of conducting coöperative relationships with a number

of institutions in different localities are the Cooperative Study of General Education with headquarters at the University of Chicago (embracing 22 colleges), and the Motion Picture Project with headquarters in Washington. The former is a cooperative attack on problems of curriculum, evaluation, student personnel, and administration of the first two years of college. The latter now has in preparation an extensive catalogue which will be entitled *Selected Educational Motion Pictures—A Descriptive Encyclopedia*. This will differ markedly from any previous publication in that area, because it will contain in its descriptive entries the results of local investigation and experimentation to disclose the outcomes of the use of films in influencing children of appropriate ages.

The Cooperative Test Service, with headquarters in New York City, continues to make its unique contribution to American education after ten years of experience. The same office also houses the headquarters of the more recently created National Committee on Teacher Examinations, which is enlisting widespread cooperation among institutions and individuals throughout the country in the construction of tests suitable for measuring certain qualities of prospective candidates for the teaching profession and in the development of policies regarding possible uses of such instruments.

Under the auspices of the Council there is also a project in rural social studies, now engaged in a survey of present facilities for the training of personnel for work in that area.

The *Committee on Modern Languages* continues to be active, conducting its development of semantic frequency lists and continuing its word-count studies. Another enterprise of the same committee is an investigation of the teaching of English to Spanish-speaking children. The study is being made in Puerto Rico, and its results will no doubt be applicable in the southwestern States as well as throughout Latin America.

The foregoing is not a complete picture of all the research activities now in progress under the auspices of the Council. A more complete description may be had in the bulletin *History and Activities of the American Council on Education* which is revised and reissued annually in November.

There are more than twenty active committees and subcommittees in addition to those just mentioned. The flow of publications, recent and prospective, is large. The next annual meeting of the Council will be held in the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., May 2 and 3, 1941.

BOOK REVIEWS

Matching Youth and Jobs, by HOWARD M. BELL. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940, xiii + 277 pages.

The American Youth Commission recently conducted a joint project with the Employment Service Division of the Social Security Board, for the purpose of studying and stimulating the coördination of all local agencies having a hand in vocational education, guidance, and placement for youth, in eight selected localities, four of which were large urban centers and four of which were rural counties. Out of the varied studies and experimental efforts which were initiated during the eighteen-month life of the project comes this report by Mr. Bell, who acted as coordinator representing the Commission.

In his usual manner of going directly to the point in plain and vigorous language (already familiar to readers of his earlier report of the survey of youth in Maryland entitled *Youth Tell Their Story*),¹ Mr. Bell has built the book around the concept that the key to community success in finding the right jobs for youth is in the conduct of continuing local research which amounts to knowing the community, knowing the jobs, and knowing the workers. Knowing the community includes the effect of past and prospective population changes and of shifting occupational patterns. Needless to say, these sorts of information must also be collected and interpreted on State-wide and national bases as well as locally. Both vertical and horizontal coöperation among the agencies concerned is essential. This is the main theme of the report.

Just what a community occupational adjustment program involves and just how it can be set in motion and made to produce significant returns are matters of especial importance when national defense industries require maximum efficiency in production. All of us have a stake in improving youth's opportunities and the nation's economic welfare.

¹ Washington: American Council on Education, 1938, 273 pp., \$2.00 cloth, \$1.50 paper. Among other early publications of the American Youth Commission are *The Health of College Students*, by Drs. Harold S. Diehl and Charles E. Shepard, 169 pp., \$1.50; *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America*, by Earl R. Douglass, 137 pp., \$1.00; *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*, by Newton Edwards, 189 pp., \$2.00; *How Fare American Youth?*, by Homer P. Rainey and others, 186 pp., \$1.50; *Youth in European Labor Camps*, by Kenneth Holland, 303 pp., \$2.50. Among prospective publications of the Commission are *Youth Work Programs—Problems and Policies*, by Lewis L. Lorwin, *Time on Their Hands—A Report on Leisure, Recreation and Young People*, by C. Gilbert Wrenn and D. L. Harley, and *Youth-Serving Organizations—National Non-Governmental Associations*, by M. M. Chambers.

Growing Up in the Black Belt, by CHARLES S. JOHNSON. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941, xxiii + 360 pages

Negro youth in the rural South have here found an interpreter. In rapid succession we see the personality profiles of the plantation boy, the girl in the sharecropper family, the son of the farmhand, the migratory youth, the mulatto boy, and the young married couple. Then we look successively at status and security in the social world of youth. Here we get insights characteristic of the distinguished author of this book, who has won eminence in his field as head of the department of sociology at Fisk University for thirteen years. We see Negro youth in school, in the church, and at play. We get glimpses of their occupational outlook and incentives, of their attitudes toward sex and marriage, and of their relations with white people. Intrarace attitudes are also significant. Within the Negro society the color of one's skin has a large influence upon his status.

The book is the result of one phase of the comprehensive study of Negro youth recently completed under the auspices of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education.¹ To discover the response of rural southern colored adolescents to the conditions of their environment, and to find out how economic and other handicaps affect their personality development, investigations were carried on in eight counties representing the major types of southern agricultural life. The findings have important implications for education, for social work, and for many phases of social planning. Fortunately the methods used in the study and the skill of the man who directed it and wrote the report make it of absorbing interest to the layman as well as to the specialist.

Guideposts for Rural Youth, by E. L. KIRKPATRICK. Washington, D. C. American Council on Education, 1940, viii + 167 pages.

Here is a concise description of practical steps which have been taken in many communities to improve the situation and outlook of the young

¹ The following books were published by the American Council on Education in 1940 as part of a series of studies of Negro youth problems: *In a Minor Key*, by Ira DeA. Reid, 135 pp., \$1.25; *Children of Bondage*, by Allison Davis and John Dollard, 327 pp., \$2.25; *Negro Youth at the Crossways*, by E. Franklin Frazier, 350 pp., \$2.25. This series will be completed by the publication in April 1941 by the American Council on Education of *Color and Human Nature*, by W. Lloyd Warner, Buford H. Junker, and Walter A. Adams, and *Color, Class, and Personality*, by Robert L. Sutherland, director of the study.

people of farm and village. In succession we see what has been done in some places and what can be done in others about finding jobs for youth, enabling them to get vocational education, and upgrading general education. Creating wholesome leisure-time opportunities, enlivening the rural church, raising the level of public health, and fostering the establishment of homes by rural young men and women also are viewed. Finally, we look at progress in unique organizations for older rural young people, and see what part the youth can play in a well-balanced community program which envisions the welfare of people of all ages, not of youth alone.

Among the keynotes of future progress are local surveys to find the facts, maximum use of local resources, and constant emphasis on community-wide cooperation and youth participation.

The author has had long connection with the American Country Life Association, and for three years has studied the welfare of rural youth as a staff member of the American Youth Commission. He knows rural youth and rural communities, and has given the Commission a staff report which speaks in a language understood by Americans who live close to the realities of agricultural communities in all sections of the country.

Modern Marriage, by PAUL POPENOE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, xi + 299 pages.

Paul Popenoe has been collecting data concerning the factors producing success or failure in marriage for many years. His interpretation of these data in this revised handbook gives it a statistical and scientific flavor not commonly found in books on the subject. Problems involving suitable ages for marriage, selection of a mate, parental attitude, romance, love, divorces, proposals, engagements, weddings, premarital examinations, heredity, and children are discussed in a sane, unemotional, and well-documented manner. Placed in the hands of the more intelligent young people it should alleviate much "mental misery" and reduce the number of unsatisfactory marriages.

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EDUCATION SPEAKS

H. CLAY HARSHBARGER

Colleges and universities pioneered in the engineering phases of radio. Men in colleges and universities early became interested in this new medium of communication. By 1920 and shortly thereafter, consequently, a surprising number of colleges and universities had licenses which enabled them to operate stations on regular schedules.

As radio developed, and the burden of expensive research was assumed by the radio industry, these institutions found themselves with transmitters which took time, energy, and money to operate—more of each than many administrators thought it wise to invest. The result was that some institutions voluntarily surrendered their licenses, others lost out in competition with commercial organizations. A few universities, however, convinced that radio was here to stay, tenaciously clung to their licenses with the result that some thirty colleges and universities still own and operate their own radio stations.

During the first ten years of radio it is no exaggeration to say that, except for a fanatical few, colleges and universities were generally unaware of radio as a social force. The second decade of radio has seen universities develop an awareness of radio, at least, to the extent

that administrators are constantly beset with the problem of what to do about it.

Naturally no settled policy has developed. A few institutions have ceased to be skeptical and are going about the business of developing radio. Other institutions—probably this constitutes the majority—grope about trying to discover how radio fits into their picture. A minority of institutions, only vaguely aware of radio's existence, no doubt wish its noise would quit disturbing their investigations into remote realms of organized knowledge.

While it would be interesting to sketch in detail the history of radio in colleges and universities and to analyze the programs in terms of the philosophy of the institutions, the limits of this paper permit no such ambitious undertaking. Rather the purpose is to describe briefly the reasons animating college and university broadcasting, to place the time at which they became manifest, and to give some estimate of their importance.

Over the twenty-year span of radio's existence, colleges and universities have broadcast for three main reasons: to serve the educational needs of the area in which they are located; to promote the institutions' own ends; and to train students.

The end of serving the educational needs of the area in which the institution is located traditionally divides itself in three ways: broadcasts intended for utilization in elementary and secondary classrooms; programs designed to inform and to enrich the lives of adult listeners; and broadcasts built in conjunction with State agencies and organizations.

For the past ten years several colleges and universities have planned and produced schools of the air designed for elementary and secondary schools. Primarily the institutions sponsoring schools of the air are State universities which own and operate their own radio stations. The reasons which motivate these schools to broadcast such a series are not difficult to find. As the capstone of the State's educational system, they feel themselves to be responsible for

the enrichment of the school curricula, especially those of the less favored regions.

A university school of the air, designed for the schools of a State, has certain advantages. Because of the relatively restricted geographic area involved and the ensuing tendency to homogeneity of the schools and curricula, a reasonable chance exists for week-by-week correlation of the school of the air subject matter with that of the classroom. In the second place subjects of immediate interest to the State's schools can be chosen. It is not infrequent, for example, to find programs listed which deal with the historical backgrounds, geographical features, and government of the State in which the university is located.

The university station, in the third place, operates free of commercial necessities. Consequently, the station can make the convenience of the schools the major desideratum in scheduling programs for them. The Wisconsin School of the Air, to cite only one instance, is broadcast at 9.30 a.m. and 1.30 p.m., and on certain days other periods beginning at 10.45 a.m. and 11.30 p.m. are utilized. In the last place, because the pressure to hold a maximum audience throughout the day is not strong, appeals can be made to relatively small segments of the school population. To illustrate, one school of the air devotes four program periods a week to grades one to four, which, if effectively done, will interest neither higher grades nor many adults.

If schools of the air, designed primarily for State schools, have advantages they suffer from certain limitations. The sponsoring institution obviously does not have sufficient financial resources to command the talent of a network school of the air. Nor can they provide originations from all parts of the country as can their larger brothers.

Both, in short, have a function to perform. The network presents features that will interest the schools of the nation, the university must command the attention of its State schools. Both are impor-

tant. Each supplements the other. Both labor valiantly toward a common goal: the enrichment of the life of the school child

While not all universities agree they should broadcast schools of the air, all unite in feeling a heavy responsibility to the adults living within the coverage area of their broadcasting outlet, a point of view to which they have tenaciously clung since they began to produce radio programs. Sound argument makes the conclusion inescapable. The universities have the duty of gathering and transmitting the accumulated experience of mankind as well as extending the boundaries of knowledge. The age in which we have lived these last twenty years has more than once been characterized as kaleidoscopic. As changes succeed one another it becomes imperative that adults be kept abreast of developments in many fields and be given standards and criteria with which to judge and evaluate unfolding events. The function of a university and the times in which we live combine to enjoin universities to accept the responsibilities of adult education.

But universities are not organized to deal with adults in face-to-face situations throughout a wide geographic area. Hence, radio magically provides an effective substitute. The best teachers can reach thousands of adults on a given occasion. Or subject matter can be made intensely appealing when cast into dramatic form. Here, briefly, is a medium that enables an institution of higher learning literally to make the coverage area of its broadcasting outlet its campus.

Cursory examination of the broadcasting schedules of few universities quickly provides evidence that they are making an honest attempt to provide adults with worth-while entertainment, information, and stimulation "The Music Shop," "This Week in Government," "Citizenship Forum," "Geography in the News," "Industries of Our State," "Spanish Lessons," "The Book Parade," "Vocational Guidance," "Farm Science Spotlight," "Discussion at Eight," and "Homemaker's Forum" are a few of the program

titles which illustrate the many fields in which colleges and universities are broadcasting primarily to adults.

The question legitimately arises as to the social effectiveness of this endeavor. To answer the question completely would require continuous evaluation of an adequate sample of all such programs—an obvious impossibility. Positiveness is possible with respect to one fact: the universities are making an honest effort to improve their programs as is evidenced by use of an ever widening variety of program methods, the exercise of more care in the preparation and production of scripts, and ever expanding staffs to achieve these ends.

Reference to the case the author knows best will exemplify a decade of growth. Ten years ago the program staff of WSUI, the broadcasting station of the State University of Iowa, consisted of possibly five or six full- and part-time people, studios were inadequate, programs tended to follow the pattern of speeches and musical shows, and, on the campus, radio was generally a "poor relative." Ten years later some fifty full- and part-time people—both faculty and students—compose the program staff, radio is housed in a modern new plant, listeners hear talks, interviews, discussions, dramatizations, and musical programs in pleasing balance, and radio is beginning to come of age.

Since the experience of other universities is similar, one concludes not that broadcasts designed for adults have reached perfection, but that they result from more careful planning, that this state of "becomingness" is important. One has reason to hope that, because of radio, universities may some day come to play as vital a role in the lives of adults as they do now in the lives of young men and women.

The third phase of many universities' educational aim—and one which is growing—is cooperation with State agencies and organizations interested in adult education in the presentation of programs. Many managers of both commercial and educational stations have been known, in their more polite moments, to charac-

terize organization programs as "awful." Yet all agree that the Parent Teachers Association, American Legion, the Conservation Commission, etc., have a legitimate place on the air.

The average commercial station is not staffed to devote long hours to building interesting shows for all worthy claimants of their time. If, consequently, an organization needs aid the university with a lively interest in adult education and broadcasting can be of real assistance.

Some of the author's most satisfying broadcasting experiences have come as the result of such coöperative ventures. To sit down with the radio chairman of an organization, mutually analyze their problems, to reach conclusions relative to the best program content and method to meet those problems, to build the shows, and to have them win praise from audience, sponsoring organization, and station managers gives one a sense of achievement. But more important the college or university has contributed effectively with one of the organizations whose main concern is adult education.

The brightest example of this coöperative endeavor is the Rocky Mountain Radio Council. Included in the Council's membership are thirteen colleges of the area, public libraries and school systems, and agricultural, educational, and citizenship organizations. By pooling their resources they are able to originate programs of merit, jointly promote not only these but other deserving programs released in the area. Of equal importance is the cooperation of eighteen stations with the Council.

Agreement is general that the Rocky Mountain Radio Council is one of the significant developments of the last five years in which colleges and universities have had a part. The future of this joint effort by colleges, organizations, and radio stations will be watched with great care and intense interest.

The broadcasting activity of some colleges and universities reveals a second reason for their interest in radio: promotion of institutional ends. Lately in the alumni bulletin of a college there

appeared the following story: Professor X has been appointed director of radio; the college has a fine orchestra, men's glee club, and eminent faculty members; no doubt by the end of the academic year loyal alumni, no matter where their residence, will hear the voice of their alma mater on coast-to-coast network programs

Omitting the discussion of the probability of such a broadcast as irrelevant, the story emphasizes the point that one administrator feels radio to be an effective way to publicize his college. As a matter of fact people in many situations seem to believe if they can get in front of a microphone to tell their story all will be well, or, as a minimum—better. It is not surprising to find some educational administrators numbered among the group

This is not to suggest that institutional promotion is unimportant. Nor is it to suggest that a program conceived and executed to achieve an honest educational purpose does not result in audience good will toward the sponsoring institution. It is to suggest that *radio periods are too precious, that the national and international situation is too precarious to waste golden moments convincing alumni that alma mater remains worthy of nostalgic memories, and that, to take advantage of education's best opportunity, parents should send their sons and daughters to the college set amid the elms.*

In the last ten years another reason for broadcasting has arisen in many colleges and universities, the force of which may not be immediately obvious. It is training for radio. While the training program encompasses greater appreciation of radio as a listener, preparation of teachers who can effectively utilize radio in the classroom, it is the education of the capable few for jobs in the radio industry which prompts the decision of some universities to seek time on the air.

If a course of radio training is to be complete it must provide air time for capable students. The principle involved is that in teaching skills the training program must ultimately include public per-

formance. Not until the student has experienced the stress and strain of public performance, learned the approbation and disapprobation of the audience, and suffered comparison with similar types of performances produced elsewhere has he learned completely of the art.

Basic to public performance is standing before a microphone connected to a loudspeaker in another room. Thorough grounding in the rehearsal situation accustoms one to the microphone and its use in many different types of production. But the time comes when, if the ultimate training step is to be taken, the chips must go down in the form of microphones connected to a transmitter.

The resulting programs will not be the final step in the search for the ideal program. But if standards have been high and direction intelligent, the broadcast will be adequate and can be superior. And, at the same time, the university may utilize these productions to accomplish educational aims.

This "doing something for the boys and girls," as one legislator put it, is an important function which a few universities are taking seriously. Results can be shown in the persons of writers, announcers, salesmen, sound-effects men, and program directors who not many years before graduated from these institutions. As the universities grow in knowledge of training for radio the job will be done with ever increasing proficiency.

So it is that education speaks with many voices to achieve a wide variety of purposes. If the voices have not always been eloquent they grow constantly more effective. Each year education speaks more importantly as it entertains, enlightens, and stimulates the people.

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LOOK AND LISTEN

BELMONT FARLEY

If a schoolmaster of 1850, trying to ignore the screech of slate pencils on their way through the knotty puzzles in the third part of Ray's arithmetic, could have looked forward to the present teach-easy days, envy would have engulfed him. Aids to learning have so multiplied in the last ninety years that a good part of present-day teacher training is consumed in cataloguing the contents of the tool chest.

Probably every one who has devised or improved a tool of learning has satisfied himself that "after this it's going to be easy." Old Euclid is often sagely quoted, but hardly anybody believes him, and nearly everybody is looking for a road map showing Royal Route No. 1 to learning. It would be foolish to contend that the devices created to speed and expand education have not been successful. They have been. From hornbook to hacksaw they have made the acquisition of knowledge more meaningful and more usable.

But not one of these aids—not all of them together—have nullified the laws of learning. Learning takes place in people's minds. It is a process akin to hard work, and therefore distasteful to many. Educators who thought to make it more palatable offered "visual education." There had always been visual education. It was available to the teacher of 1850 who would open the schoolhouse door and go outside. Slide and film have greatly extended and enriched the possibilities of visual education, but it is doubtful whether the use of them makes either the task of learning or the job of teaching any easier than the use of the natural objects available to the teacher of long ago. Indeed the difficulties involved in assembling these visual aids, in adapting them to the needs of the pupil and the hour, and in integrating them with other educative experiences call for a degree of skill unknown to the early teacher. The multiplication of courses in visual education at our teacher-training institutions

testifies to this. Certainly visual aids have enriched opportunity and widened the scope of education for the learner. They enable him to go further faster, but only if he makes energetic use of them. Mental effort must still be employed. There is little learning by merely looking.

As radio rapidly develops its educative possibilities, there are some who accept this new tool as a means of learning by merely listening. There are many classrooms where no preparation is made in advance for the use of a radio program to be received as a supplementary aid. There also is no follow-up after the reception of a broadcast. The pupils merely sit at attention and a turn of the button brings the program. Then it is time to go home or to the next class. This splendid new tool of learning is employed as though education were a pouring-in process. It is small wonder that teachers who use radio this way complain of difficulty in correlating radio programs with subjects of the course of study.

There is nothing unusual in this "incidental" use of a new instrument of education. Not so long ago high-school students correctly described the use of films in their school by referring to the period devoted to projection as the "picture-show hour." As a result of research and experiment in the use of motion pictures as a classroom aid, they have become something more than entertainment with whatever incidental or accidental educative values that may accrue. They contribute in direct and definite ways to the achievement of designated educational objectives. They are not trimmings. They belong to the warp and woof.

Radio, likewise, in many schools is no longer used as a "stopgap" or as an instrument which calls forth a wholly passive response. Where it is so used, it can more properly be called an "aid" in the sense that achievement is speeded and enriched than in the sense that it has made the work easier for a teacher or in any way supplanted teaching skill. The best users of radio in the classroom are usually the best users of the other tools of learning; they are the best

teachers—teachers who appreciate the principles by which the human mind acquires functional knowledge, and who make all the tools that they use subserve those principles.

The preparation of printed material for the use of teachers some time in advance of broadcast has been one of the most important means of enabling teachers to integrate the experiences that come from the air with those that come from books, scientific apparatus, visual materials, and other aids employed in the learning process. A teacher's manual with an outline of the broadcast, giving suggestions for the use of reference books, maps, slides, films, excursions, increases many times the effectiveness of a series of radio programs for classroom use.

Great strides have been made in recent years toward more skillful use of radio as an aid to learning. They began when broadcasters and teachers started to work together. Now, both radioists and educationists are beginning to realize that listening, as well as looking, is only a first step in learning, and that it must be undertaken with due consideration for the next step, and the next step after that. Fewer teachers employ the radio by merely turning the button, and fewer radioists expect them to use it this way. Greater effectiveness in radio as an educational instrument requires more active coöperation of educators and radioists to this end. Radio, marvelous as it is, has not negated the laws of learning. There is little education by exposure. Education cannot be poured in by the ears. "Look and listen" is a valuable precaution, but it is an inadequate prescription.

Belmont Farley is a native Missourian. In 1929 he came to the National Education Association headquarters in charge of publicity and is now Director of Public Relations of the NEA, Assistant Secretary of the Educational Policies Commission, and Coordinator of Radio Activities of the NEA. Author of books on the interpretation of education and frequent contributor to magazines.

THE DIAL TAKE THE HINDMOST

SHERMAN H. DRYER

I

What is radio? It is a great grab bag. No, it is a basement bargain-counter. No, it is neither; it is a wonderful instrument of communication. Yes, it is all three, but something more, too: it is a potential medium for artists, and it is a medium for potential artists.

These are educators talking to me over many years; many definitions over the years, as if I were slowly turning a dial and taking sounds out of the air.

Why should educators use radio? Oh, it's good publicity. No, it helps educate the masses. No, not educate—*indoctrinate*. Yes, it does all those things, but most of all it can stimulate.

How should educators use radio? Without the frills, the noise, the guff. No, some of that is necessary, like sugar for flies; but not too much. Are you sure? Let me interrupt, gentlemen, and put it this way—radio must be beneficial, not "jackbennyficial"!

These are educators talking, building a montage of confusion. Radio directors, professors teaching radio, instructors in radio, deans and college presidents, dramatic coaches, English teachers.

Of the ten years I have been in radio four have been in the field of "educational radio"; two of those four at the University of Chicago. And I find a terrible confusion in the minds of educators about radio. Not only do they not agree among themselves why, how, what about radio; only a very few agree with themselves for more than a few months at a time about why, how, what about radio.

The commercial radio broadcaster, on the other hand, is not confused. He uses radio because it sells products and wins customers. Everything he does is directed toward this commercial end. Even his noncommercial programs are, in fact, merely secondary sales

promotion. They give his station or network prestige; they justify his private ownership of a property which many think should be government owned; they serve elements in the community which are not served completely (if at all) by his commercial broadcasts, and thereby may win listeners and develop tastes for a better quality of commercial program. All of these public-service, noncommercial programs build good will and loyalty to his call letters. Good business justifies them.

II

I am of the opinion that the primary reason why educators are confused about radio is that so few of them know anything about producing effective radio programs. Radio is techniques of enticing and holding listeners. The techniques will differ with the kind of program one produces, and with what one hopes to accomplish with his program; but radio is techniques, and the educators had better learn them.

Commercial broadcasters know these techniques; that is why most of their programs have substantial audiences. You as an individual may not like the gag shows, or the variety broadcasts, or the quiz hours. Very well, tune in something else. The point is that *whatever* commercial program you dial will probably be pretty well produced for the kind of program it is. Can the same be said for most educational broadcasts?

The simplest commercial production rules are frequently violated by educational broadcasters. For example, no good commercial program would ever permit an artist with a bad voice to broadcast. Long hours are spent by commercial producers in auditioning announcers, speakers, actors. The best voices available are finally selected.

Or take *what* is said, that is, the script. It is probably written by trained people, who know that the words have to be simple but that simplicity in itself can be dramatic and frequently colorful. It is

probably written by experienced people, who know how to save on words and make them pay dividends. It is probably written by creative people, who have the routine task of transforming dull ideas into provocative or interesting ideas by techniques of writing.

Where are the good voices in the educational institutions? Where are the good writers? Where are the idea men who give time and effort to make whatever is broadcast interesting and refreshing?

The trouble with educational broadcasting is that the programs are no good; and the programs are no good because too many educators either do not know how to make them good or are not interested.

For the most part the people responsible for radio in educational institutions are sincere and well-meaning, but without professional radio training or experience. Radio in these institutions is an extra-curricular activity, or a booking-agency activity, or a public-address system—without a public, without an address, and without any system.

Let me give you one example which I can multiply a hundred times. A few years ago one of our great State universities decided that its journalism department ought to do some broadcasting as part of a proposed course in "Radio 116." An instructor in copy-writing was selected as the "teacher" and "program director." He wrote me, four months before his first class was to meet, and asked me for a "list of books to read because I've got to bone up, but quick..."

It takes staff, time, and money to build radio departments, whether for teaching or broadcasting. Without these, educators should stay away from radio. Bad programs do not help broadcasting as an industry, a medium, or an art; and they do not help education.

III

Educators as a whole do not as yet respect radio as a medium for education; whereas the commercial broadcasters respect it at least as a medium for advertising.

And it is an axiom that until one respects his medium he cannot do anything very effective or creative with it

What constitutes "education" on the air is a nice point Is "Information, Please" an educational program? What about "Dr I. Q."? Is the Ford Sunday Evening Hour education for classical music? If so, is Orrin Tucker's orchestra education for popular music?

Is the University of Chicago Round Table educational? Or the Town Meeting? Or the People's Platform?

I have had yes and no answers to each of these questions ably defended. But the point is that many educators do not know in their own minds what constitutes educational broadcasting.

In an effort to wipe away the cobwebs, NBC recently ruled that only NBC classroom broadcasts were "educational"; that nonsponsored other programs—the Round Table, Great Plays, etc—were "public-service" programs.

These new labels have helped a little, but not much. "Public-service" broadcasting means broadcasting as a service to the public. I am not convinced that *educators* broadcast because *they* want to serve the public If this clearly were their purpose, they might have more respect for radio as a medium, but, as it is, no altruistic motive such as public service very often impels educators to air

In my opinion, there are two primary reasons why the microphone is a magnet to the educators (1) It provides a publicity jummy wherewith to pry into the homes of the public, the alumni, and the students' parents. (2) It provides a sort of woodshed from which to administer learning—"because it's for your own good, son. . . ."

Now, when it comes to advertising by radio, the educators have much to learn from the commercial broadcasters The first and

most important thing they can learn is to be honest and frank about why they are on the air. "This program is presented by Blank College in collaboration with Blank Radio Station to acquaint you with the activities and purpose of Blank College" will be much more appreciated by the listeners than an amateur student play, a dull lecture on ancient art, or whatever; broadcast not because they are good programs but only because they get Blank College's name on the air.

One good publicity program a month, carefully planned and produced, will get more listeners and be more effective radio than three ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-planned "time fillers."

On the second point, producers of educational programs frequently broadcast with the grim determination to make the public take what they have to give whether they like it or not—"It's good for you, son." This woodshed theory of radio may be good discipline, but it is neither good education nor good radio.

Gilbert Seldes once stated the matter to me very well. "I do not mean sugar-coating education so much as I mean that one cannot neglect and despise the technique of any form of communication, if one wants to be listened to. . . ."

IV

There is no excuse for educators broadcasting programs which do not appeal to large masses of listeners. For the standard band belongs to all the people, and the programs which presume to use it must appeal to many of the people. Radio incompetents or intellectual snobs had better get off the people's highway, the standard band, and move over to the private paths reserved for the elite.

The private paths of communication are the lecture platform, the periodicals, and books.

I should personally like to see a special short-wave band allocated for the use of educators who want to broadcast programs which, while they may have intrinsic values, are nevertheless not well pro-

duced and hence unable to command a mass audience. For in all of the foregoing article, I am critical only of the abuses made by educators on the standard band. Let them have their private band, however; and after a while those who develop a capacity for effective mass educational appeal may move into the standard band.

A program to have mass appeal does not, as many educators think, have to be cheap or gaggy or stupid; the people are running democracy pretty well, and getting things done, and shouldering the responsibilities of civilization. "The People, Yes!" should be inscribed on every educator's microphone.

Radio, let me repeat, is techniques of enticing and holding an audience

V

A commercial broadcaster recently said to me, "I wish we were free enough to say to all educational and public-service broadcasters that only one criterion will determine your right to the air: Can you produce a good radio program?"

By "good" this broadcaster meant only the use of proper radio techniques. He was not concerned, nor are commercial broadcasters as a group concerned, with *what* educators say on the air. But he objects, as commercial broadcasters generally object, to whatever is said or produced being badly or ineffectively said or produced.

Radio stations are frequently blackmailed—I am using the tough words today—into putting educational programs on the air. Under the Communications Act, owners of networks and stations are required to broadcast "in the public interest." If a station operator refuses to cooperate with local educational or other pressure groups, he may find a file of complaints registered against him when he appears before the FCC, as he must, to show cause why his license should not be revoked!

One reason why, when educational institutions are given free time on stations, they are often given bad time—periods when

listeners are not large—is because station operators do not want their listeners to hear poorly produced programs. Ashamed of the quality of most educational productions or talks, but unable to insist upon “good radio” as a requisite to their air, they endeavor to hide away education.

Back of this is the regrettable fact that too often educators think they have a right to the people's air; whereas the use of the air, to my mind, should be a privilege reserved only for those who have demonstrated a capacity for effectively using radio.

Good and intelligent programs, well produced, have always earned large listening audiences. More than seven million people listen regularly to the CBS Sunday Symphony and to Deems Taylor's comments; eight million listen to “The Cavalcade of America”; three millions listen to “The Great Plays”; ten million listen each Sunday to the University of Chicago's Round Table, and six million listened to its dramatic program about research in the great universities, “The Human Adventure.” The list could be extended for many more paragraphs. But there is one point only to make: in every instance, these network successes were produced by professional radio people, who, although they may have used academic material and solicited the participation and aid of scholars, nevertheless employed good radio techniques in saying whatever each had to say—and Americans, millions of them, listened!

I shall not discuss the question of radio's responsibility and ability to create new and better tastes in listeners, but simply state that a high level of taste already exists but is poorly exploited by educators.

The University of Chicago Round Table for many years opened its microphone to scholars to discuss current social, political, and economic matters. Two years ago the University set up a radio office staffed by people from commercial radio. Today, the Round Table is heard each week over 96 NBC stations and has an audience of ten million—about double the network of two years ago, and four

plus times the audience. Yet no scholar has ever charged that he had to cheapen his discussion or sacrifice his intellectual integrity on the last 104 broadcasts. The radio office at Chicago is concerned only with improving techniques of round-table broadcasting, not with what the scholars have to say.

VI

Radio can, and has the responsibility to, create and satisfy new and better tastes in the public. But note I said "and satisfy."

Educational and public-service broadcasting will take a great step forward when educators accept the point of view that what is popular is either basically good or can be made good, with few exceptions.

Let me quote Gilbert Seldes again. "I do not foresee the moment when chamber music will take the place of popular orchestras and I rather hope I never will see that moment because I don't see why there should be that displacement. But I think that you can create a good appetite by good programs.

"And there it seems to me that the commercial program is so well made, is technically so skillful, has made such a study of the audience, that it has everything in the world to teach the other types of production. . . ."

And so I close these random spankings with four points for the educators to chalk up on their blackboards.

To justify your existence as broadcasters, sirs, you must:

1. *Learn radio techniques.* Train yourselves and your students. Visit radio stations and networks. See what makes them tick. Get friendly with the boys who produce and write the commercial broadcasts. Let them cry in your beer.

2. *Experiment*—but generally, not on the air! Beg, borrow, or steal enough money to establish a recording studio. Write, produce, develop radio programs—and record them, listen to them, tear them apart. When you have finally developed a program or an idea

for air, then offer it to a station or network for consideration as radio. Do not ask for air just because you are an educator or represent an educational institution.

3. *Spend lots of money.* Radio costs money. Your professors will devote more time to preparing radio lectures if they get paid; your students will do better theatricals. If you are seriously going to broadcast, the talents you must employ and exploit will to a large extent have to be drawn from experienced radio personnel. Commercial radio pays well; you must just about meet its price.

4. *Encourage professional radio people to work with you.* If you cannot afford to employ them, then frankly appeal to them to give you a few hours a week to help you be a better broadcaster. Always remember—you may know the Einstein theory—but *they* know radio!

Sherman H. Dryer has been Radio Director of the University of Chicago since February 1939. *The Round Table* and *"The Human Adventure"* are two leading educational network broadcasts produced under his direction. Three new network programs, with which he has been working experimentally, will probably be aired under the University's sponsorship this autumn. Prior to his Chicago appointment, Mr. Dryer was a writer-producer in commercial radio. He has been program director of a station and managing director of a large radio production agency.

AUDIENCE BUILDING IN EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING

PAUL F. LAZARSFELD

Suppose that, at the time print was invented, hopeful publishers had printed a lot of books, set them up on street corners, and waited for what would happen. Obviously not much use would have been made of the books, and after some time every one would have raised the complaint that print could not be used for the dissemination of knowledge because the public did not read these books which were available. Actually it soon became obvious that print, in order to be a social force, had to be "institutionalized." Schools were founded where people learned to read, libraries were erected for the collection of books. Is not radio today in a similar situation? Why should we assume, simply because we put educational broadcasts on the air, that they will by themselves become a factor of influence upon the masses of the population?

One answer to this challenge might be that people have to acquire reading skill in order to use books, but they do not need to acquire any listening skill to listen to radio programs. This is not a valid argument, however, for it is derived from a confusion between two different kinds of listening. Listening for fun to a popular song or to a dramatic serial requires no special skill, it is true. But listening to any kind of an educational broadcast requires that two conditions be fulfilled. In the first place, a listener has to be interested in the issues or topics under discussion, and in the second place he has to have a minimum of what one might call conceptual skill in order to follow even a simple presentation of an informative character. Radio waves can reach every home in the country, but only a small percentage of the people in these homes have the necessary interest and conceptual skill to make use of any kind of serious programs. If radio is to become an educational force comparable in its social impact to its physical coverage, then it has to become institutionalized,

just as print did. That is to say, ways and means must be found by which desires and abilities for serious listening can be developed.

In terms of the radio trade, what is needed is *audience building* for educational broadcasts. But before any positive suggestions can be made, a number of misconceptions which stand in the way of progress must be cleared away. One of these is the idea that there are all over the country large groups of people who are full of the desire to be educated but have not had the opportunity to become students and skilled readers. Now educational broadcasts offer them a longed-for opportunity. It is very doubtful that such people exist in great numbers. In our culture, learning and reading have been so closely related that one who has never read has probably not acquired interest in getting information in other ways. All available data show that educational programs are listened to mainly by people who use them as a supplement to their reading. These programs have not yet tapped the millions of people who do not read.

Closely connected with this misconception is another one which is implied in all the discussions on "sugar coating" radio education. Who of those engaged in this field has not attended a convention where the broadcasters have said that the educators should set up more engaging radio programs, and the educators have answered that then it would not be genuine education? Strangely enough, it is always assumed that people who do not listen to a good talk or to a well-organized round-table discussion would listen to a dramatization of a serious topic, or some jazzed-up form under which information might be conveyed. There is no evidence, however, that dramatized education gets a much larger listenership than well-delivered straight talks. If the listener does not want to be educated by the radio he is just as quick to smell the educational rat in dramatic disguise; if he looks for information he is willing to take it on its own merit, and this merit lies in the simplicity and clarity of the delivery and in the impact of the information itself, rather than in sound effects, musical background, and impassioned announce-

ment. Of course as with all general conclusions, this one is somewhat exaggerated, and exceptions can be found, but the listener ratings of the dramatized informational programs are not much higher than those of the well-established talk and discussion programs. Certainly shifts in time and sponsorship and topic produce much greater differences in size of audience than transition from straight to sugar-coated forms of presentation.

A third misconception is what one might call the mousetrap fallacy. This reads: just build a good program, and people will beat a path to it. But that presupposes that the utility of a good educational program even approaches that of a good mousetrap, whereas it is in the line of the general argument here that it is very doubtful whether people feel this way.

Thus it seems that the whole conception of educational broadcasting will have to be changed or, rather, enlarged. It will have to consist of two elements. first, building programs, and, second, getting people to listen to them by actually building an audience. These two types of effort should be considered as two inextricable parts of the same activity. No one should be considered a good educational broadcaster if his plans for going on the air do not include making sure that his program will find an audience, and make its way against competition for time and attention.

When we come to consideration of actual ways of audience building, we have to distinguish between a short-term and a long-term view. The short-term approach is to build audiences for programs which are already on the air or are now in the process of planning. Adopting this view, any organization which approaches a station or a network for time should first ask itself what audience it can deliver. If it is a national organization, has it planned to invite the local organizations to support the program and promote listening? If it is a local organization, has it explored all the possible outlets for publicity—the local department store, library, labor unions? “Why should we do so?” will be the question which might come

to the minds of those who are approached for their coöperation. Has not the department store, the library, and the union enough work with promoting its own cause without bothering about other people's radio programs? This objection brings us to the kernel of the whole idea of audience building

Audience building is something which works both ways, which not only gives audiences to radio programs, but also gives additional momentum and scope to the activities of those who engage in it. If there were space, we might pose the figure of a local official of an adult-education council and write from our imagination a history of his labors, achievements, and disappointments; of how he tried to arouse people's interest in his cause; how he overcame their inertia; how he had to draw on the most unyielding resources because he had no money to spend; how he was let down by out-of-town speakers and officers in the capital. He tried to break through a vicious circle in trying to overcome small-town atmosphere with small-town resources, which themselves created the small-town spirit. All this would make a magnificent story of social effort and social frustration. Suppose our hero were to decide as a last resort to exploit all available educational broadcasting and its related materials in an effort to raise the intellectual pulse of the community. The radio brings prominent speakers over the air every evening, and our local leader provides a room for a listening group and then leads the discussion of the program himself. Where before no one cared for the pamphlets he wanted to distribute, he can now point to the fact that the topic they treat will be discussed on the radio next week, and all the prestige of the radio will come to his support. If previously he had to play the role of the powder which drove the bullet forward, he can now be the trigger which releases the ever present energy of the many suitable radio programs. He can now canalize the available supply of radio into his community, whereas previously he had also to provide whatever material he wanted in addition to clearing the channels.

This kind of institutionalization of radio has hardly begun. It could be done and will have to be done, and only then will radio have found its place in the cultural life of the nation. Actually, all the ideas of using radio in this way for cultural promotion only utilize ideas of propaganda which have proved successful in other fields. A manufacturer who advertises a product over the air will certainly get in touch with his local dealers, make them aware of the program, give them window displays which refer to the program—briefly, he will create as close a local tie-up with this program as possible. Similar efforts are true in the political field. A few men who have built a following through radio speeches have done so by creating at the same time local organizations which utilize this steady stream of speeches. The local organization has the easy and concrete goal of making people listen to the speeches, and the speech gives direction to the people whom the local organization has lined up.

But has not the discussion shifted from what the broadcaster should do to build an audience to what the local organizations can do with radio? It has, and by purpose, for we wanted to show that the idea of audience building goes far beyond the immediate goal of the educational broadcaster. If he spends more initial effort on the building of his audience, in addition to merely putting on his program, he will find himself moving in a stream which is fed by many other springs in the community. But now to go back to the techniques of audience building which the educator can learn from the commercial broadcaster.

The announcement in the local newspaper and the distribution of posters have to be used as a matter of course. The cross-announcing from other radio programs is very helpful if the consent of the radio station can be obtained. One of the special difficulties of a new program is that it has to be content with those listeners who tune in by coincidence, while more established programs have a regular audience. The latter type, with sympathy of purpose for the new pro-

gram, will lose nothing by granting time for a special announcement of the newcomer on the air. Then there are always local groups which will be especially susceptible to the appeals of a new program. If it is a program on art, then students in art schools and visitors to museums should be informed. For a public-affairs program people in political meetings or at forum discussions should be approached. It is an important part of all audience building to canvass the situation in order to find out where promotion could be directed with the greatest chance of effect. And one should never be deceived into believing that by now every one knows about the older program. Many studies have shown that even programs which have been on the air for many years are known to only a small part of the listening population. The educational broadcaster makes a very natural mistake when he assumes that because he thinks about his program day and night, every one else must at least have heard about it. It probably takes a year or two to make the existence of a program known to a small part of the community.

A most important aspect of audience building is a regular time schedule. If a program is known to come at the same time every day or week, it has a far better chance of building a following than if it is shifted all over the schedule. The educational broadcaster who is sure he has something to offer and an audience for his message had better come to strict terms with the station regarding time.

While the responsibility for thorough planning *and* publicity should be laid upon the educators, past failures to gain audiences for their broadcasts should certainly not be charged to them alone. Since all but a few of them are on the air by the grace of the networks, and are given the leavings of the time and effort of the broadcasters, they have in some cases worked against insuperable difficulties. Shifts in time and undesirable periods have been the most common of these.

It may be helpful to exhort the listeners themselves to be the promoters of a program. Pertinent studies have shown that people who

listen to educational programs make it a point to persuade others to do the same, and this missionary propensity can well be used by the broadcaster. It has even been tried with success to begin a program by saying that for the first two or three minutes there will be only music played, so that the present listeners can go to the telephone and invite others to participate in the worth-while event to come.

Enlisting listeners' aid in keeping programs on the air is a sound policy from the point of view of audience building and also of network relations. Moreover, this helps to do one thing which educators often overlook; *i.e.*, to build a sense of participation in the program among the listeners. Commercial programs, much more generally than is the case with "public-service" shows, make the audience feel that they have something to do with the program, by playing request numbers, holding contests or quizzes, or even giving free gifts to people who write in. Educators have never drawn on this desire of the listener to share in the program to any considerable extent.

Educational broadcasters have possibilities of promotion which commercial broadcasters do not. Schools will not object to guides to good listening being distributed among school children, which will make them and their parents aware of the good programs in existence. It is often worth while to combine this kind of publicity with a questionnaire asking who actually listens to the programs. The returns might give leads about what kind of further efforts would be most suitable.

There is another possibility which might be very successful, although somewhat more expensive. If an especially good quarter hour of a program series is put on a recording disc, it can be played at meetings of local organizations, and combined with a discussion on what the program is intended for, how it is made, and how well it accomplishes its purpose. Such a procedure might well arouse the interest of people present at the meeting, and make them listen-

ers and promoters of the program in their own social groups. This leads back again to the idea of tying in with local organizations which pursue cultural goals similar to those of the program sponsors. Teaching those organizations how to utilize the program for their own educational purposes will always remain the most successful form of audience building.

This brings us at last to the long-term aspects of audience building. It is a historical accident rather than a psychological necessity that people who do not read do not listen to serious radio programs either, indeed do not learn by listening at all. Educational broadcasting does not yet have its own following, but out of many efforts toward audience building which should be made in connection with program series there should and will develop a tradition of serious listening. There are millions of people who will read no more in their lifetime, but who could be gained for serious listening. Listening is not so much easier than reading that every uneducated person will naturally turn to listening to education over the air, but it does actually require less effort to change a man from a nonreading person to a serious listener than it does to develop him into a reader. The trouble during the past decade has been that educators thought they need do nothing in order to make people listen to them. As a result many have become completely discouraged by the lack of results and have left the air. The right solution is to understand some of the things that have to be done in order to get a hearing for educational radio.

Only a few suggestions can be made here as to some definite steps in long-range planning. It should include, for one thing, the development of radio criticism and standards for judging radio performance which will stimulate finer production as well as listener judgment. *Variety* could find in 1940 no radio column worthy of the award it planned to grant in this field; such columns at the present time are about on the level with the cheap motion-picture gossip columns; there are no serious reviews of radio programs.

The recognition of radio writing as literature, with its own requirements and standards, began probably with Archibald MacLeish's introduction to his *Fall of the City*. Now the printing of radio's annual "bests" edited by Wylie, however much one agrees or disagrees with the selections, fastens good scripts into a usable form for study. This is probably a necessary preliminary to another hoped-for experiment: the encouragement of educational groups and institutions to review, evaluate, and argue the place of radio in the cultural and social setting. Nothing will do more to remind the radio industry of its obligation to give public service than a public enlightened to the fact that this is its due. It is doubtful whether more than a small fraction of the listening public does know the terms on which broadcasting is licensed, or that the broadcaster has any responsibility for preserving standards other than the ever apparent moral ones. Critical listening could and should be taught in the schools, as is the evaluation of literary material. Where this has been done, as in Los Angeles and Ohio, the experiment is too young for results to be known, but they should be watched for. The development of clearing houses for information on educational radio experience and material has begun in such noteworthy examples as the Office of Education, with its programs, script exchange, and the Rocky Mountain Radio Council, which produces programs pertinent to the activities of local organizations and at the same time uses them for the promotion of listening.

If educators see the idea of audience building in all its implications, then they will help to institutionalize serious listening, and thus overcome the main obstacle to radio's cultural future

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EDUCATING THE PARENTS

STEPHEN S. JACKSON

Whenever there is mention of education by means of radio, the immediate reaction is negative. The educator says, "Radio cannot be used for truly educational purposes." The broadcaster says, "Oh, here's another of those dull programs which will raise the Crosley rating of our competitors." The adult thinks, "Children's programs—none of my concern." And the child reacts by exclaiming, "More school!"

There is one aspect of education by radio, however, which belies all four, and which proves that no more than the surface has been touched. I refer to educational programs for adults on a specific subject in which they have a positive, emphatic, and continuous interest—children. The popularity of children as a focus of radio interest has been established by the highly successful children's hours, and by such recent innovations as the Quiz Kids. Nevertheless, comparatively few broadcasters—or educators, for that matter—have thought of the potentialities of radio as a medium for educating parents with respect to their children. It is true that there have been lectures on how to conserve the child's health; discussions of child rearing; interviews with authorities on child welfare. These attempts have been quite few, however, and have met with varying success.

Apart from sporadic attempts to publicize through radio the activities of specific social agencies, it is safe to say that there has been almost no effort made to educate parents with respect to the *social* and *psychological* well-being of their youngsters. The Bureau of which I am director last year presented two series of broadcasts which, while they were admittedly experimental and highly tentative, point the way, I believe, to a more effective use of radio in this sphere.

The Bureau for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency is an

agency of New York City's government, functioning within the Domestic Relations Court. It was established in June 1940, to reduce the incidence of delinquent behavior by attacking the causative factors. Our preventive work is being conducted on a number of fronts, but much of our activity is concerned with education—the education of children, of parents, of the entire public, toward the end that delinquency may be curtailed.

The Bureau's radio programs were broadcast on WNYC, New York's municipal station. The first series was concerned with dramatizing—for the benefit of parents, teachers, and other adults interested in the welfare of children—some of the major contributing causes of delinquent behavior. The title of the series was "Why Children Come to Court," and while we did not pretend to give the whole answer, we did hope to indicate to listening adults some of the causative factors. The thesis of the series was that while it may appear that a child is "just plain bad," in most instances there are sociopsychological factors which underlie the child's misbehavior and delinquency.

The opening scene in each broadcast was laid in the courtroom. The complainant stated the case against the child, and the judge then called the youngster up to the bench and proceeded to question him and his parents, or other witnesses. The case was then adjourned to a future date, pending an investigation and report by the probation officer of the court. In the next scene, the probation officer presented his report, analyzing the various aspects of the child's life—his school record, his health, his mental status, his religious training, and the economic position of his family, and so on. When the report had been concluded, the judge turned to the expert who was the guest of the week and requested his opinion on the case. The guests were men and women of considerable prominence in their sphere, and their analyses were sound and constructive. In each case, of course, the case had been so presented that one contributing cause of delinquency was particularly prominent, and the guest, while

giving due acknowledgment to other factors, selected the main one and indicated how the delinquency might have been prevented.

As the series progressed, we discovered a fact familiar to every radio expert: the listener is interested in drama, not in dry and dull "reports." Accordingly, we resorted, to an increasing extent, to a variety of dramatic techniques common to broadcasting. Thus, we introduced sound effects and "flashbacks." We broke down the probation officer's report into a series of fadeouts, and in some instances we dispensed with the probation officer altogether. The result was that at the end we had radio programs which were filled with dramatic appeal, and which had lost none of their soundness, accuracy, or value from the legal and sociological viewpoints.

Our second series, "Preventing Delinquency," was in the nature of a sequel to "Why Children Come to Court." Whereas, in the first series, we indicated some of the outstanding contributing cases of delinquency in an endeavor to promote understanding of the child, in the second group of broadcasts we described some of the excellent work being done to forestall potential delinquency. "Preventing Delinquency" was, in effect, a dramatized directory of social-service agencies, for we presented in dramatic form each week the services of a different organization concerned with the wholesome development of children. We presented both private and public agencies, and, on each broadcast, an executive of the agency was our guest. The programs thus served a double purpose:

- 1 They were informative, notifying parents of some of the services available for those with difficult children; the broadcasts served also as constructive publicity for the agencies.

- 2 They were educational, suggesting some of the techniques used by trained social workers in dealing with children's problems

In both series of broadcasts, the Bureau emphasized and reiterated that the cases dramatized were typical rather than actual. They had been adapted from the records of the Children's Court and the experiences of the various agencies, but all identifying details were

altered. So cautious were we, indeed, that in each program of "Why Children Come to Court," the delinquent was named John—or Jane—Smith, to emphasize further the anonymity of the children.

The success of our experiment is indicated in part by the words of praise the Bureau has received from professional social workers, and from publicity people engaged in social-work interpretation. More significant to us, however, has been the response of the radio audience. A number of inquiries have been addressed to the Bureau following some of the broadcasts, in which the writers say, "Johnny Smith was just like my boy," or "What Dr. ——— said was so true; I know a case just like that." Some listeners wrote to ask for copies of the scripts, in order to "show it to someone." By the reaction of the layman, we saw that our message was reaching the very persons most vitally concerned. The Bureau's efforts to educate by radio were, to be sure, experimental, but I believe the results demonstrate, at least in our own sphere of endeavor, the value of making our educational appeal directly to the home, an opportunity which is unique to radio.

Stephen S. Jackson is a justice of the Domestic Relations Court and director of the Bureau for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency in New York City. He was professor of social legislation on the staff of the Fordham University School of Sociology, and is now a member of the Executive Committee of the New York State Conference of Social Work.

ADULT EDUCATION BY RADIO: TOO LITTLE? TOO LATE?

PARKER WHEATLEY

World events make adult education by radio in the spring of 1941 a subject for sharp analysis and urgent action. The needed action derives from the great question now before the American people: What should be the role of the United States in World War II? All other issues arise from this fundamental question. Americans are seriously divided on this question and its corollaries, between groups and individually within their own minds. A majority want to give all-out aid to Britain and equally want to keep out of the war. Can these positions be reconciled in action? Certainly, if the American people are to make responsible decisions on their role in the war, they need the widest possible information upon all issues involved, and the deepest possible understanding of the probable consequences of their decisions. Furthermore, they need a clear program for the future to guide their conduct in the world after the war.

Radio is the tool of communication for the task ahead. No other instrument is as powerful as radio in swift, decisive influence upon public opinion. No other instrument can simultaneously, dramatically unite all citizens to consider critical problems. Radio has the responsibility and the opportunity for significant service to American defense and democracy in presenting balanced, honest discussion of the issues and the nation's future course. Because educational or public-service programs concerned with the problems which cluster around our role in the war are the most important in all radio today, they require special consideration. Also, network programs, because they are national in scope, and will probably continue to

¹ This article is an attempt to draw some practical conclusions immediately applicable to adult education by radio as of April 14, 1941. Research material referred to throughout is largely from the Office of Radio Research, established by the Rockefeller Foundation, originally at Princeton University, and now at Columbia University, directed by Dr. Paul S. Lazarsfeld, and his associates, Dr. Frank Stanton of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and Dr. Hadley Cantril, of Princeton University.

dominate the radio scene in public affairs, should be the focus of any such analysis. Furthermore, these national network programs are intended for the adult population essentially, and it is the adults who will decide the issues. Then, if there can be agreement on the urgency and necessity of information and understanding of our role in the war, on the responsibility of radio in communicating these essentials, and on the need for analysis of the programs which will carry the burden of this communication, these questions require an answer. Do enough adults listen to educational programs on the vital public issues? If they do not, why do they not? Does it matter if they do not? And if it does matter, what should be done?

Is a weekly audience of three or four million, or an exceptional maximum of ten million, who now listen to the leading educational programs on vital national issues, such as the University of Chicago Round Table, the People's Platform, and America's Town Meeting of the Air, enough? Leading entertainment programs attract audiences up to thirty or forty million listeners. Are radio jokes more important to the American people than discussions of issues which deeply concern them? Who are the three or four or ten million? A partial answer is revealed in a study of audiences of America's Town Meeting of the Air during the 1938-1939 season, in which they were classified according to income groups. H. M. Beville, Jr., reported this relative appeal of Town Meeting: "Upper income group index, 147; middle group 113; lower, 75. This heavy skewing toward the upper groups is characteristic of educational programs of serious content."

To point the question "Do enough adults listen?", consider the tendency revealed in Mr. Beville's analysis to the correlation between economic level and cultural level. The more serious the content of radio programs, the less their relative popularity among the lower income and cultural groups. Yet, the lower the cultural group, the greater the amount of radio listening. In short, those who listen most to the radio listen least to these educational programs.

Obviously our present educational programs in public affairs do not reach the people who, judged according to American standards of an informed electorate, most need to listen. And the seriousness of this problem is more critical when correlated with the fact that the lower the economic and cultural level, the less the reading in the area of current events. Thus, many millions of adults neither listen to the radio for objective examination of vital issues, nor do they read about them in any significant degree. Yet it is just this larger section of the population which by its vote or the sheer weight of collective opinion may dominantly influence important decisions which shall be binding upon all. Perhaps this section of the population is not necessarily less able to decide correctly on these questions than others of the population. But such people, it is clear, are exposed to less objective, balanced examination of important issues than the seriousness of the problems would seem to require in the American democracy.

Pertinent data on listening habits is reported in *Radio and the Printed Page*,² by Dr. Paul S. Lazarsfeld, as part of the Office of Radio Research study undertaken in Erie County, Ohio, in the months preceding the last presidential election. A group of fifteen hundred people were interviewed in the spring of 1940 on their expected preferences for sources of information in the campaign. Those who expected radio or newspapers to be the chief source of information were classified according to whether or not they had graduated from high school. Somewhat less than twenty per cent of the 75,000,000 adults in the United States has graduated from high school.

The importance of the radio as a source of information was much greater among those on the lower educational level, although, at the same time, their interest in the presidential election was less. But those who did have an interest in the election clearly preferred the radio; that is, the more personal, direct presentation of election issues by the candidates themselves. In each of the two groups inter-

² New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc., 1940.

viewed, however, preference for the radio increased the greater the interest in the election. Dr. Lazarsfeld suggested that those who had less interest in the election might be guided to a greater extent by local influences, which would be transmitted more by local newspapers than by radio. But it seems possible to conclude from such data as has been published from this study that those who ordinarily listen less to the usual educational or public-affairs programs in the lower cultural and economic groups did expect to listen to the radio to some extent for information during the campaign. And their listening, by the nature of the political campaign, preponderantly would be to candidates, that is, to direct propaganda, rather than to the balanced propaganda of radio's leading discussion programs.

The distribution of the vote in the election clearly bears upon the problem, although it cannot be assumed absolutely that lower cultural and economic status necessarily means that a voter is less qualified to judge correctly between political candidates. All voters tend to vote in the direction of their backgrounds and interests, without too much respect to so-called objective, impartial judgment of political arguments. Further data from the Erie County study, published in *Life* magazine, November 11, 1940, establishes this relative predisposition of all voters.

Dr. George Gallup's analysis of the economic stratification of the vote in the election also helps our analysis: the two lowest economic groups of the population, the middle (earning from twenty to fifty dollars per week) and the lower (earning less than twenty dollars per week) voted respectively 53 per cent and 69 per cent for President Roosevelt, while the upper income groups (earning fifty dollars per week or more) voted 28 per cent for him. Dr. Gallup's summary on December 9, 1940, of the larger patterns revealed in the election are:

1. President Roosevelt's relative success in holding the greater part of the labor vote and the vote of the lower income group, despite defections in major social and economic class.
2. The increasing stratification of the voting on an economic basis.

3. The important role played by new voters including both those who had just come of voting age and those who voted in 1940 but did not vote four years ago. The indications are that the President's share of the new voters' ballots accounted for more than half of his 5,000,000 majority throughout the country.

The increasing stratification of the vote on economic class lines is especially significant for the future. When the entire Erie County research is published, there will be much more information on the importance of this trend, of radio's part in it, and of the influence of radio on the 5,000,000 majority who decided the election of President Roosevelt. But, from Dr. Lazarsfeld's study of election information source preferences, and of political predisposition in Erie County, perhaps even now it may safely be inferred that the greater part of the voters in both major parties among the lower and middle income groups were not listeners to discussion broadcasts on election issues and candidates. Rather, they listened largely to candidates themselves, to direct, uncontroverted propaganda. And all research in radio, including Dr. Lazarsfeld's report on predisposition, indicates that such listening to one-sided propaganda usually is to reinforce pre-existing attitudes. Clearly, then, adult education by radio in the realm of political issues has failed in the main to reach deeply into the population.

"If enough adults do not listen, why do they not?" The simplest reply of course would be that they cannot think on the level of present educational discussion programs. Perhaps they cannot, but should they be dismissed therefore as below our consideration and as unimportant?

For the moment, more is known about why people listen to programs than why they do not, and political broadcasting and commercial broadcasting offer tentative answers to the question. First, President Roosevelt attracts huge radio audiences equalling those of leading sponsored programs. His skill as a radio speaker is important, but underlying his skill is the ability to speak to the peo-

ple of themselves and of their interests, the ability to appeal to their predispositions on the one hand, and to utilize those predispositions to convince his hearers of new courses of action which seem to them compatible with their pre-existing attitudes. Do radio's adult educational programs in public affairs successfully utilize this technique, even though their purpose, ordinarily expressed, is to stimulate further thinking, discussion, reading, rather than to suggest decision or action? Dr. Lazarsfeld's research supports the conclusion that when the interests of individuals with less formal education are more clearly involved, and presented in the highly personal manner employed by the political speaker, many more people will listen to programs on public issues than will listen to the usual educational discussions of the same issues.

In the case of a presidential campaign, of course, other influences are at work. The tradition of political interest is present. But even more important and above this fact, the citizen's importance in public life is constantly emphasized, as at no other time, and he is made to feel himself valued. This identification with important events in which his decision counts is reinforced by his identification with the special interests of his group, labor, for example. Quite the opposite to this identification occurs, however, in much of our educational broadcasting. Such a conclusion may be an inference, but Dr. Lazarsfeld's study of "Professor Quiz" seems to support it. In his gratification study of Professor Quiz, he warns that the findings are not conclusive, but rather a sample of one of three possible procedures, the others being content analysis and stratification of audience. Nevertheless, common experience confirms his tentative conclusions. Those interviewed in the study were selected from the lower income group, in which the majority had a grammar or high-school education, excepting for one college graduate, unsuccessful in business.

Two outstanding conclusions significant for this analysis were that the quiz program was an outlet for resentment against people

who have a formal education, against the "college man," and, second, an "almost hysterical stress on the 'average man,'" with which the listeners interviewed identified themselves. Yet this competitive appeal was not the incentive to listening to Professor Quiz most emphatically stressed. Rather, it was the "educational value" of the program. And there was the additional important appeal of "finding out about myself." Sporting appeal, although mentioned, was minor. Dr. Lazarsfeld's conclusion that "we do not know of any educational broadcaster who would present [a woman's serial, a 'how to get along' program or] a quiz contest" is highly suggestive for adult education by radio. In short, too often our efforts are those of "upper-class people" who "try to enforce their educational standards over the radio, but lower-class people do not accept them, because such standards are not adjusted to their point of view."

Then, does it matter that they do not listen to our educational programs, even if we know why? The great question before the nation today of the role of the United States in the war, and the complex political and economic problems which arise out of our position as a world power cannot be answered by the three or four to ten million people who listen to serious programs, however much they may believe they know what is best for the remaining seventy million adults of the nation. If we believe in democracy and honestly wish to develop the ability of our population in intelligent, objective examination of vital issues, we must accept the unique role which radio as a medium imposes upon us. In the present world situation, adult education by radio somehow must find a way, and soon, to interest the other millions who do not accept our present efforts.

The problems before the nation demand the consideration of all the people, if democracy means anything. If adult education by radio is to fulfill its obligations and opportunities in our time, it must adapt its programs to meet the needs of the less well educated, the more suggestible, those who read less and listen more, those who have fewer cultural opportunities and abilities, numerically,

the 95 per cent of the American people who have not shared in higher education.

Then, what to do: Adult education by radio in the discussion of vital national issues must (1) build its present programs or create new ones which will attract and hold the attention of many more millions of our people; (2) move swiftly and decisively to make such programs the main theater of radio today, supporting these program efforts by all-out publicity and promotion which we know how to do so effectively for commercial programs; (3) and fight vigorously to maintain radio's freedom to discuss vital national issues against any or all opposing forces. In short, the full democratic function of the American system of radio broadcasting must be realized by making our serious programs genuinely democratic. Such a program of action can be urged even while recognizing the conclusion of Dr. Lazarsfeld that the "social influences of radio will come about via its influence on the attitude and habits of the people, but this role of radio will vary according to the different turns our social system takes," because adult education by radio in the spring of 1941 can vitally aid all the people in deciding the critical "turns" which the United States may take in the immediate and near future. Else in this world of violent and sudden shifts, we may discover that in the face of unparalleled opportunity, adult education by radio may have been too little and too late!

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SOME HYPOTHESES CONCERNING SOCIAL CHANGE

GOODWIN WATSON

PART II

In an earlier issue (September 1940) the writer presented fifty hypotheses concerning social change. These covered: (1) the origin of change; (2) standard sequences in major transformations; (3) direction of change; (4) leadership in social change; (5) characteristics of effective propaganda; (6) the matrix out of which major changes arise, and (7) the role of intellectuals in periods of rapid social change. This article continues the list, with special reference to: (8) mass participation; (9) the role of organized labor; (10) organization; (11) reaction against social change; and (12) some generalizations about revolution.

The hypotheses are stated positively but not with dogmatic intent. There is some evidence for each, but in few cases is it conclusive. The purpose in publishing the list at this time is to invite criticism and to stimulate investigation. Attention will be increasingly centered upon postwar reconstruction in America and Europe, and many social psychologists will be anxious to direct their research upon fundamental problems with practical import. Perhaps these hypotheses will suggest clues.

VIII. MASS PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL CHANGE

51. Those changes are most apt to be made which can be accomplished by convincing a few people; those which depend upon consent of the masses will come more slowly; those which wait for mass demands most slowly.

52. Masses consent most readily to changes which involve a minimum of disturbance in their routines, customs, and habits of thought.

53. Masses respond more readily in reaction against distress than in attraction toward a positively desirable goal.

54. Mass reactions are against specific ills; they tend to be partial and remedial in scope, not comprehensive or constructive in any large scale.

55. Mass reactions tend to be conceived (rightly or wrongly) as a return to a better state of things which once existed in the past, rather than as an advance toward a new, unknown, untried, promising future.

56. The most probable large social change is one brought about by the accumulation of many minor adjustments, each made in an effort by some group to get rid of a particular source of discomfort.

57. Effective changes are often largely made in actuality before they are recognized or demanded or put into law.

Changes which are made in law or decree, before they have become part of common practice, are unstable.

58. Misery of the masses does not usually lead to revolutionary ardor; if suffering is prolonged, the result is likely to be goallessness, disintegration of will, and supine squalor.

59. The changes which the masses demand will depend upon their "level of aspiration."

a) A decline in status is resented; there is aspiration to return to remembered levels.

b) A status below what others can be seen to enjoy is resented; tension increases with a sense of difference between one's lot and that which others experience.

c) Aspiration to an "ideal" which has not been realized in the previous experience of the individual or in the actual life of those around him is strong only in the case of a few idealists, intellectuals, prophets, and reformers.

60. Most persons develop, in response to moral and social demands during childhood, so much feeling of guilt and inadequacy, that later misfortunes tend to be accepted as personally deserved, rather than attributed to basic social causes. Their will to social change is weakened by the suspicion that they have themselves been at fault; they aspire to personal salvation rather than to social reconstruction.

IX. THE ROLE OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN SOCIAL CHANGE

61. Most people feel themselves more vitally concerned in their producer functions than in their functions as consumers. Work gets more time and thought than purchasing. There is more kinship felt among fellow workers than among fellow shoppers.

62. Men who live alike tend to think alike; different ways of securing income result in different outlooks.

On questions of economic and political action, there will be found more homogeneity within groups alike in occupation and income than will be found on the basis of similarity in age, race, sex, religion, region, or education.

63. Most workers prefer to feel they belong to some "middle class"; only a minority are proud of working-class status.

64. The average worker in American industry will soon be a high-school graduate.

65. Although the efforts and gains of organized labor in the past have been directed largely toward immediate gains in wages or shorter hours, there is a trend today toward participation in planning, toward concern with the operation of the whole economic system, and toward participation in political power.

66. The rising class which is most likely to challenge the power of the business rulers today is a coalition of labor and intellectuals.

a) The intellectuals (engineers, economists, statisticians, sociologists, political scientists, teachers, writers, artists) are increasingly essential to the operation of a complex technical system of production and distribution, but they lack the strength, urgency, and drive of necessity which pushes organized labor forward.

b) Organized labor, without the continuous cooperation of technologists, will be: shortsighted in pursuit of aims; in danger of control by bureaucracy which complacently accepts its privileges in the *status quo*; and unable to use its tremendous power to secure the wisest changes or to operate industry with greater success than do present owners.

67. The growing separation between ownership and management, and the greater cooperation between management and organized labor, will facilitate the new coalition.

68. Although both producers and consumers may properly have a voice in the control of economic life, democracy will be furthered if the greater share of control is by consumers rather than by producers.

a) An organization of consumers represents a broader cross section of the interests of society than does an organization of producers; producer groups are more likely than consumer groups to advance their own interests at too great cost to the common good.

- b) Consumer interest tends to promote higher quality of product, greater efficiency in production; elimination of waste in distribution.
- c) Producer interest tends to promote monopoly, with attendant evils.

X. ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

69. A well-organized, smoothly coordinated group can control many times their number of persons who are unorganized or are unskilled in organizational procedures.

70 Superior social power, like superior mechanical power, when used by some is forced upon all. It is as futile to protest "blocs" as gunpowder.

71. Those people who work in good organizations differ from the independent individuals who "believe in" similar objectives. Those in organizations:

- a) give more time to the cause
- b) give more money to the cause
- c) subject their action to more criticism and counsel
- d) scatter their efforts less; develop specialization
- e) sustain morale better

72. Those people are most useful in organizations, who:

- a) have been accustomed to exercise initiative in home, school, work, etc.
- b) have been accustomed to group thinking, cooperation, committee work, and other organizational responsibilities in home, school, work, etc.
- c) are reasonably well-adjusted in their personalities so they do not need to make heavy demands upon their associates for satisfaction, or to vent their grievances against co-workers
- d) are well informed, competent, experienced in the area of work

73 Dictatorship in organizations results from convergence of the need of the dictator to dominate and the psychological readiness of the subordinates to look for a hero, a strong man, a perfect being, whom they can serve and reverence. The current practice of families, schools, patriotic teaching, and religious education favors many attitudes which support dictatorships.

74 Rebellion and military action against dictatorship usually leads not to democracy, but to counter-dictatorships. Dominance commonly arouses either submission or attack, but seldom cooperation. Hence, tyrant succeeds tyrant in a vicious circle.

75. The amount of agreement expected as a basis for membership in a good organization should be enough to prevent diffuse, uncoordinated, irrelevant, contradictory actions by members; and yet so little as to leave room for freedom of thought, initiative, growth without purges for heresy.

76. The larger the number of persons associated in an enterprise the more difficult it becomes to work out solutions which take account of the whole personality and entire life-situation of each participant. Even two people cannot touch at all points—with three, four, five, or more persons the number of common concerns progressively diminishes and the number of competing or distracting or nonincluded interests steadily rises. Hence, the larger the organization the fewer the aspects of life it can deal with. Comprehensive social planning must necessarily be decentralized.

77. As a movement advances and an organization develops, each stage requires a somewhat different type of leadership. For example:

- a) Early days of unpopular minority—the outcast leader who can mobilize the aggressive impulses and resentments; can stand ostracism
- b) Formation of solid organization—the genius for organization, for smooth coordination, for getting detail taken care of, for harmonizing conflicts.
- c) Expansion—the hero symbol; popular orator; successful, driving, forward-moving energizer.
- d) Opposition—the man of rock; unwavering; able to keep up morale in the face of defeats.
- e) Success—the man who can unite a divided group, who has the respect of the opposition, who can construct rather than attack.
- f) After having been long well established—the creative leader, who can introduce innovation, overcome rigidity, cut out deadwood, adapt to changing conditions.

78. If both "moderate" and "extremist" organizations exist during a period when minor reforms apparently suffice to keep the system working, few persons will join extremist groups. When a crisis occurs, and the inadequacy of the old regime becomes more obvious, the "moderate" organizations become more radical but this process is too slow to hold their membership. The more pronounced tendency is to leave the "moderate" organizations and leaders and to seek out the "extremists" who have long been rejected and criticized.

XI. REACTION AGAINST SOCIAL CHANGE

79. Because of social inertia and the tendency of cultures to perpetuate themselves, most movements for change fail. The defender of the *status quo* usually does not need to bother to go into action at all.

80. When a movement for change begins to gather momentum, then a reaction arises. The more rapid and drastic the proposal for change, the more intense and violent will be the opposition.

81. The most successful attacks on social change are likely to be made by means of:

- a) ridicule
- b) charge that it is visionary, impractical
- c) charge that its leaders are corrupt, grafting
- d) charge of sexual immorality
- e) charge of religious atheism
- f) charge that racial or national or regional "outsiders" run the affair

82. Local and national loyalties are stronger, in most working-class people than are class loyalties.

83. No movement succeeds without experiencing serious setbacks, disappointments, periods of apparent defeat.

84. As an issue nears a decisive point, public opinion which may previously have been normally distributed about a moderate position with a few at each extreme, or may have been piled up in a J-curve of conformists with only a few rebels, divides into two opposite camps. The distribution is markedly bimodal; the modes draw apart; the center positions are depleted and the more vigorous elements assemble at the extremes. At this stage compromise positions are rejected by both sides, middle-of-the-road people are weak and futile.

XII. CHARACTERISTICS OF REVOLUTION

85. The more severe and extensive the repressions in a group, the more violent and excessive will be the emotions and actions in a struggle which promises release

86. When power is great, violence is weak

When the new order challenges authority before the new has sufficient power—or when the old counterattacks after it has lost power readily to subdue—then the most terrible violence occurs.

87. A revolt against those who have used violence will be violent

88. The danger point in reform is part way between an old order,

weakened first by its own inadequacy and later by attempted reforms, and a succeeding order toward which the reforms point but which is not far enough developed and integrated to make much contribution. Societies may fall between two stools.

It is difficult to achieve material efficiency or spiritual contentment in a transition society.

89. Revolutionary movements have certain distinct advantages over reform movements:

- a) more powerful myths
- b) more wholehearted participation
- c) can offer eventually more perquisites
- d) are less restricted by conventional forms of action

90. These are to be balanced against liabilities of revolution, such as:

- a) threat to security in many areas—particularly in an interdependent society
- b) absence of realistic, practical evidence of improvement
- c) increase in unpredictable factors, unexpected outcomes
- d) the outlaw role of promoters of revolution

91. Most revolutions are unexpected.

- a) Although "in the air" it is thought they will not come for another generation.
- b) They are begun by acts which were not intended to start revolutions
- c) Their growth often dismays those who have been caught up by the movement and cannot escape.

92. Revolutions are followed by reactions which reduce but do not eliminate revolutionary gains.

93. Revolutions commonly disappoint the idealists and enthusiasts who support them; neither the means used nor the ends achieved come up to expectations.

94. Revolutions are periods of restructuring of social Gestalten; they are necessarily preceded by long periods of development in which old social patterns have become inadequate and new ones have begun to emerge, they are necessarily followed by long periods of readjustment and effort to achieve harmony and equilibrium within the new structure

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A NEW COURSE IN THE SOCIAL-STUDIES CURRICULUM FOR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

JOSEPH HIRSH

The accusation has been made repeatedly in recent years that the social sciences are destined to remain descriptive and academic. Methodologists have replied to this accusation by propounding "scientific systems." Educators, recognizing the malleability of the social sciences and their interdependence with the changing character, needs, and problems of society, have met this challenge in part by introducing new courses in the social studies into the curriculum. Since this process is still largely exploratory, attention is invited to a consideration of a course on a sociology of medicine in the social-studies divisions of colleges and universities.

The provision of "adequate" medical care has been one of the burning issues of democracy for more than a decade. Studies on the multifacet problems of medical care by public health, medical, social-scientific, social-work, and community organizations and individuals have continued unabated during the past thirty years. Today, this field has become a distinct sphere for practical action. It seems important, therefore, that this action be charted on an intellectual rather than controversial basis as a field of research and teaching. Davis has already indicated areas of research in this field for physicians, sociologists, economists, and historians. He bases such research on the thesis that it

does not involve merely a study of the *relations* between the medical and the social sciences, or between medical practice and social institutions. The study of these relationships is sometimes involved, but the essential elements are a body of phenomena, not merely relationships. The phenomena are such that they are influenced or "determined" both by ele-

ments which are usually regarded as "medical" and also by elements which are usually regarded as "social" or "economic."¹

The study of these phenomena—of the medical profession as an in-group, as a group interacting with society, and of professional and public medical problems—points to the possibility of inclusion within the collegiate curriculum of a course on a sociology of medicine.

Despite the fact that physicians, public-health workers, and medical scientists have long engaged in medical economic studies, have actively participated in plans for the provision of medical care, and have been responsible for initiating courses on these subjects in schools of medicine and public health,² they generally regard the sociology of medicine as outside their scope of intellectual interest. Social scientists have contributed significantly to this field, but, like other professional investigators, they have approached particular areas only, in many cases viewing them as isolated units each within a special frame of institutional reference. A recent and rather encouraging development has been the incorporation of courses on the sociology of medicine in curricula of liberal-arts colleges. In a survey of 230 colleges and universities throughout the United States, 139 were found to offer a total of 715 courses (112 devoting full time and 603 part time) in this field.³ Although a beginning, here, too, we find planless, inadequate, and unilateral consideration of the field. In many instances the subject matter seems to have infiltrated gradually into the curriculum rather than placed there through planned effort. Thus, despite the recognition by social scientists and educators that problems in particular areas cannot be explored, stated, and

¹ M. M. Davis, "Wanted: Research in the Economic and Social Aspects of Medicine," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 4, October 1935.

² K. Roberts and M. M. Davis, "Teaching of Medical Economics to Undergraduate Medical Students," *Journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges*, vol. 13, no. 6, November 1938.

³ J. Hirsh and E. G. Pritchard, *Teaching of Social Medicine in Liberal Arts Colleges* United States Public Health Reports, vol. 55, no. 45, November 8, 1940.

solved *in vacuo*,⁴ we find the weaknesses of many courses relating to the sociology of medicine to result from this very failing.

It has been stated often enough to be a truism—that the application of the medical sciences to the practice of medicine is dependent largely upon elements outside of these sciences, within the domain of social factors. If this be the case, with what should a sociology of medicine be concerned?

Broadly speaking, its interest lies in an examination and appraisal of the achievements, practices, ideals, and acceptance of the arts and sciences of medicine, of medical practitioners and institutions in terms of the total social situation. A sociology of medicine should deal with the impact of social forces upon the sciences, teachings and precepts, and practices of medicine in an effort to learn how they are influenced or conditioned by these forces and how they, in turn, influence the total social situation.

Economic determinism has been written up and talked about so much that it is almost threadbare. Some students adhere rigidly to this doctrine. Very few, if any, on the other hand, hold that economics plays no determining role in man's extra-economic existence. The dependence of medicine upon economics needs critical study. Tacitly we agree that social and economic factors influence medical education, organization and institutions, and medical practice. But how are these influences exerted and what are their effects?

This calls for an examination of medical education, of premedical requirements and methods of selecting students; of medical schools and teaching facilities—their organization, administration, and financial structure, of quasimedical groups, *i.e.*, osteopaths, chiropractors, etc.; of the character and duration of medical training and their effect upon the establishment of an in-group.

Leaving the student, we turn now to the physician. What role does he play in contemporary society? How does this compare with that of the priest-physician of ancient times and in other periods of

⁴ R. L. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939)

history? To what extent do social and economic factors influence his prestige and status? These questions can be answered only by the study of general economic conditions and social trends during various periods; by an understanding of the attitudes and values of various cultural groups toward physicians; by an appraisal of modern medical organization; *i.e.*, "organized medicine" and its influence on physicians in molding medical thought and practice as well as their attitudes toward social action.⁶ Studies of the political, social, religious, and ethical values of physicians themselves require examination in this connection.

A sociology of medicine demands the study of the technological history of medicine and of its component and related sciences, how they are conditioned and how they in turn affect the costs, organization, and distribution of medical services. Among other things, the diffusion rate of medical discoveries into general practice must be explored. This suggests an examination of the machinery that exists for the dissemination of information within the profession as well as to the public. The failure of medical technologies to diffuse into the practice of medicine suggests further that type of investigation, pursued by Stern⁷ for many years, concerning the causes for the lag between the formulation of scientific theories, the discovery of new products or the invention of techniques, and their acceptance or rejection by one or both—the profession and the public. These reasons will be found to result from any or all of the following causes: professional jealousy, opposition because of professional or social vested interests, and because they are inimical to the religious practices or cultural traditions. To understand these reasons fully, the professional, ethical, economic, political, and social values of society and of the "group within a group," the medical profession, should be studied.

⁶ O. Garceau, "Organized Medicine Enforces Its 'Party Line,'" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 3, September 1940.

⁷ B. J. Stern, *Social Factors in Medical Progress* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1927). A new book on this subject has just been completed (1940).

The political and economic structure of the state and its effect upon medical discovery, organization, practices, and methods of service is another problem to be considered. Medical historians tell us that politics are often responsible not only for the type of medical practice that exists but for the very character of medical discovery also. To what extent does political and social conflict and the character of government encourage or discourage medical and scientific enterprise? Bernal⁷ has shed considerable light on this issue as it applies to European countries and to the United States as well. This question calls for an examination of the private and public organized medical services in the community and in particular political units—of hospitals, clinics, and other institutions, of voluntary health and hospital-insurance plans, of public medical services, and of proposals for compulsory health insurance. Such examination may require various ecological studies, such as the distribution of physicians and institutional resources, and should refer to their economic and administrative problems. A well-defined appraisal of medicine from the organized and institutionalized points of view must consider the interdependent, interweaving character of scientific, social, economic, and political forces which influence it.

Thus far, we have examined cursorily the medical profession and its institutions as one aspect of modern culture. Emphasis has been placed upon medicine as a somewhat passive recipient of social influences. Fundamental to a sociology of medicine, however, is the study of the ways in which medicine has influenced the total social situation. In addition to its specific contributions, various demands by the medical profession have been responsible in shaping old sciences and developing new ones. The medical fraternity has contributed widely to the arts, statesmanship, teaching, the crafts, engineering, and many other fields. The successful completion of the Panama Canal is as much due to medical as to engineering genius. The great movements of population, wars, and industrial development are all

⁷ J. D. Bernal, *The Social Function of Science* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940)

related to medical situations just as they have their roots in political, economic, and religious circumstance. The effects of medicine upon such tangibles requires further exploration; the study of the effects of medicine upon such intangibles as religious, moral, and ethical values has not even begun.

A sociology of medicine would be a body without a head without recognition of the social, economic, and psychological effects of acute and chronic disease and epidemics upon the individual, the family, and the community. A review of individual and family problems of medical care—of costs, of the availability of physicians, dentists, nurses, and hospitals, and of criteria for choosing them need further exploration. In this connection, more thought should be directed to the poverty-disease complex, to the relationship of morbidity and mortality with housing, nutrition, economic status, receipt of medical care, and psychological factors affecting them.

A professor in one of our Southern universities, surveyed on courses devoted to a sociology of medicine, is quoted as follows: "It is impossible to teach modern public health without teaching economic and social problems." Conversely, it is equally true that one cannot understand economic and social problems without giving some recognition to public health and medicine. If we view these fields in their true contexts, interweaving and interacting, we can clearly see the rationale for a sociology of medicine.

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RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send in at once to the editor of this department titles, and where possible descriptions, of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology.

RESEARCHES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

"The complicated world of the Twentieth Century must be mastered. The individual who takes the trouble to study the major trends of these times will increase his own chances of success and his ability to serve effectively in a free democracy." These are the words of a recent statement issued by the Twentieth Century Fund, a research foundation, in explaining the functions of the organization.

Toward supplying the need for facts, Edward A. Filene founded and endowed the Twentieth Century Fund in 1919. The Fund conducts surveys of crucial, controversial economic problems, and its publications present the underlying facts together with a program for immediate action—not some ultimate or unattainable goal, but "the next step forward."

For each study the Fund's Board of Trustees appoints a Special Committee, representing differing interests and points of view and commanding public and professional confidence. This Committee, with the approval of the Board, selects a special research staff to obtain the facts, and the Fund publishes the research findings, together with the Committee's recommendations of policy. Each study, therefore, has two facets—the underlying facts, a program of action.

Important topics investigated in the past include the costs of distribution, taxation, the stock market, the place of "big business," the national debt, old-age security, boycotts and peace, financing the consumer. Among current and forthcoming surveys are housing, labor problems under the armament program, government's relation to the power industry, short selling, and collective bargaining.

A STUDY OF STATE AID TO
ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN CALIFORNIA

Approximately a year ago the Board of Directors of the California Teachers Association requested the Committee on Financing Public Education to make a report on a proposition to increase support for elementary schools from sixty dollars (as at present) to eighty dollars per child in average daily attendance. The Board expressly requested that the study include the two following aspects of the proposition: (1) the State's financial ability to assume this increase in support at the present time, and (2) the probable effects of such an increase in State aid among elementary-school districts of the State.

The Committee on Financing Public Education approved a plan for a study basic to such a report. This plan included:

1. A study of the status of the State General Fund, including recent trends in revenues and payments
2. A study of elementary-school districts somewhat as follows:
 - a) Present status of school support in elementary-school districts
 - b) Estimates of the effects which might follow increased State aid under different methods of distribution of the increased State aid.

The study was made under the direction of Dr. Elmer H. Staffelbach, Research Director, California Teachers Association, 155 Sansome Street, San Francisco, California. In accordance with the general plan of the Committee, forms for the collection of data were sent to county superintendents, required data were collected, and the tabulations and calculations proceeded and were completed last fall. The study was reviewed and approved by the members of the Committee on Financing Public Education.

The conclusions and recommendations of the study, recently released, are as follows:

"It appears from this study that, though many elementary school districts are operating on limited budgets as a result of their unwillingness to tax themselves, the need for increased state aid to many elementary districts is glaringly apparent. Whether this may be the opportune time to attempt to procure the needed increase, the committee is not disposed to try to judge finally. In view of the condition of the state's finances, as revealed in this report, and in view of the general state of unbalance in public affairs, the committee is inclined to advise caution and to postpone action. However, in the opinion of the committee, the movement for in-

creased state aid for elementary education should not be allowed to die. On the contrary, increased state support for elementary education should be recognized by California Teachers Association as the most serious as well as the most acute financial problem facing public education in this state. This matter should be placed at the top of the Association's program of financial legislation and when, in the opinion of the Board of Directors and the State Council, the time is ripe the complete influence of the Association should be exerted to give the increased state aid constitutional status."

NEW CURRICULUM MATERIALS FOR SOCIAL-STUDIES TEACHERS

A Social Studies Study Guide for Teachers, a publication of the Curriculum Laboratory of the University of Oregon, is now available in mimeographed form and may be secured from the University of Oregon Cooperative Store (Eugene) for 40 cents. This study guide includes a discussion of philosophy, current practices, and specific procedures for developing a twelve-year program. Similar study guides in the fields of *language arts* (35 cents), *science* (25 cents), and *mathematics* (25 cents) are likewise available at the same address.

Another publication, *Units of Work* (35 cents), is designed for the use of teachers, supervisors, and administrators and includes source readings and references on selecting, developing, teaching, and evaluating units of work. A further publication, designed especially for teachers who need help in planning and developing curriculum units, is entitled *Planning and Teaching Curriculum Units* (25 cents). This guide discusses the philosophy of unit teaching and gives specific suggestions on activities, materials, etc. *Brazil; A Land of Opportunity* (50 cents) is another bulletin rich in suggested activities and materials for all grade levels and the several subject fields.

Any of these curriculum bulletins may be ordered on the school credit. A complete list of curriculum bulletins may be obtained from the University Cooperative Store, Eugene, Oregon.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Community and Its Young People, by M. M. CHAMBERS. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940, iv + 36 pages.

The outlook for young people at the grass roots is here quickly surveyed, and after an introductory picture of the types and varieties of communities from the rural cross roads to the metropolitan center, we have a succession of short chapters showing how the changing economic scene has multiplied community ties with State and nation; how any community can find the facts about its own youth; the broad outlines of needed steps leading to better opportunities for jobs, education, health, and recreation; and the new directions appropriate to be taken by local governmental and nongovernmental agencies.

A final chapter points out new trails to be blazed by young people in their own communities. A clear call for pioneer work on the social frontiers for the welfare of people of all ages and for the strength and refinement of communities and the nation is sounded. "The fate of any country and of any community is bound up in the visions which flash through the thoughts of its young people."

This reviewer seconds the comment made in the *National Municipal Review* concerning the community and its young people: "The author recognizes that part of youth's requirements will continue to be answered by the federal government's program. But realistically he tells why the whole problem cannot be answered from Washington and he lays out ways and means to answer it at home, in a readable style that should attract both youngsters and oldsters."

Children of Bondage, by ALLISON DAVIS AND JOHN DOLLARD. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940, xxviii + 299 pages.

One phase of the American Youth Commission's study of Negro youth is reported in this volume developed from investigations of the life of young colored people in New Orleans and Natchez. The method was that of repeated interviews over a considerable period with a small number of Negro youth and their families and teachers. The interviewers

were thoroughly trained in psychology and psychiatry, and competent to probe into the development of the personality of adolescents. Over 200 youth were intensively studied.

The present report is a collection of eight thorough case studies, whose subjects were selected, three from the Negro lower class, three from the middle classes, and one from the upper class. In all cases the effect both of caste and of class upon the formation of personality was studied.

There is also a discussion of caste and class as training, including among other topics the interrelationships between social class and school learning. One of the most intriguing features of the book is a lengthy description of a ninth case, inserted for the purpose of enabling the reader to make his own analysis after the manner used by the authors in the eight cases previously presented.

Youth, Family, and Education, by JOSEPH K. FOLSOM. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941, xv + 299 pages.

A generally optimistic note regarding the potentialities of education for family living is struck in this lively staff report prepared for the American Youth Commission by the professor of sociology at Vassar College. In this area of education he sees that "youth and age are studying together questions to which neither has the answer," but he shows that effective learning centered upon the problems of sex, marriage, child care, and family relationships can be the means of attaining a better family life.

After tracing the origin and development of family life education, he devotes the body of the book to current practices and problems in (1) the schools, giving separate attention to the nursery school, elementary, secondary, and higher levels; (2) in social work, including group-work and case-work agencies; (3) in efforts to achieve community-wide and State-wide coordination of the enterprise, and (4) in the programs of national agencies. Attention is also given to the use of impersonal media of communication, including the press, books and libraries, radio broadcasting, and motion pictures.

In his conclusions and recommendations, the author traverses all the foregoing facets of the situation, starting from the premise that "For the majority of people, family life, avocations, and citizenship will continue to become more important from the standpoint of the time occupied and of dependable satisfactions offered."

An Introduction to Public Opinion, by HARWOOD L. CHILDS. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1940, 151 pages.

This volume is a series of lectures to various groups of business men given under the auspices of the American Council on Public Relations. It is well organized, however, and presents few of the objections to publications of this sort.

There is so much that is scholarly and fine in the book that it is difficult to be objectively critical of what appears to be a prostitution of scholarship to business. The author in effect says to the business executive:

The New Deal has awakened the business man to the fact that money and material resources no longer offset the impression their behavior gives the masses (p. 12). Today he must deal with public opinion, for public opinion determines what we consider to be the public welfare (p. 34). Now public opinion is a constantly changing thing, and you owe a responsibility not only to conform to it but also the responsibility and opportunity to mold it and guide it (p. 142). To do this you must understand the role of propaganda. (To help in this understanding he devotes three excellent chapters.) Now all education is propaganda. The need of democracy is more propaganda. The real responsibility of the propagandist is to help the citizen make "rational decisions on important matters of our public policy"—(rational to whom is not made clear) (p. 132).

Such procedures as these, in the opinion of the reviewer, have weakened the process of democracy, for they have made opinion formation a tug of war between interest groups rather than an intelligent consideration of facts. Would it not be a more intelligent procedure for business to put its house in order so that it could truthfully present all of the facts related to its public relations? Such facts would bear investigation, if necessary, and the process would obviate the use of propagandistic procedures which attempt to short-circuit the opinion-forming process. Facts speak for themselves. Persuasion, half-truths, misrepresentations, and partial truths lead to lack of confidence and conflict.

The book is scholarly, well written, and worth reading by every student of social control.

Men on the Move, by NELS ANDERSON. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940, xiii + 357 pages.

The hobo is no more. His counterpart in modern society is a migrant of another breed. This new migrant is not the romantic figure of the old "metropolitan stem" and "labor market." He is, for the most part, a marginal person of the pioneer type, who no longer has a frontier to pre-empt. His idleness is enforced. His moves are for security rather than for new experience. He usually has his family with him, and travels in a worn-out automobile rather than "on the rods."

The modern "man on the move" is a victim of social changes—changes which have caused labor relocation. In the main these changes have resulted from (1) exploitation of natural resources, due to the decline of coal mining, soil erosion, and the cutting over of the virgin forests, (2) labor relocation due to industrial change—such as the migration of manufactures and technological inventions, (3) labor relocation due to changes in agriculture.

Anderson believes that migrancy is essential to an equitable national distribution of labor. He holds these migrants in highest regard and points out that as a rule the man who "pulls up stakes" and moves on in search for work shows more courage and judgment than the one who remains behind supinely accepting charity. He has no panacea for the problem. He recommends that the Federal Government provide direction to the migrants, and shield them from hostility in the communities where they go. He thinks that one of the most serious errors of present case work with these people is the inherited stereotype of our culture that "indigent people should be sent home."

The book is a challenging study. It shows the change, as Mr. Anderson points out, from an attitude considering the problem as temporary amelioration to a viewpoint that permanent assistance is necessary. The book is a scholarly study—worthy as a sequel to the author's earlier work, *The Hobo*.

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